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Foreign Aid—The Year of Decision?

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

Administration strategists, who hope to give President Johnson a legislative batting average of 1.000, are watching the battle over foreign aid with some apprehension. Those who most fervently supported vast appropriations are turning against Uncle Sam's unlimited largesse, though for varying reasons. Cautious supporters are divided on what to press for, what to jettison.

This, therefore, may be the year in which critics of what they call "rat hole spending" will have more impact on the size and content of the bill as enacted by both Houses.

That impact, of course, will be heightened by the public reaction. If senators and representatives are inundated with letters opposing foreign giveaways, if conservative economists make the effort to prove that our dangerous balance of payments deficit and the flight of gold from Fort Knox are directly tied to our overseas spending, and if the Republican leadership puts aside its new line of "positive" alternatives and "out-do-ism"—then the people will get results in the Congress.

If apathy reigns, the Administration and the floor leaders of the foreign aid bill will be able to hold cuts down to a minimum.

Where the forces are so precariously balanced, the weight of voter approval or disapproval can make itself dramatically felt. I would like to hear from those who write their congressmen. (Address: National Press Building, Washington 4, D.C.) Dumping a couple of bushel baskets of mail on the desk of Sen. John Sparkman (D.-Ala.), who will lead the fight for the Administration's foreign aid bill, would have some interesting results.

What makes this year's contest so interesting is the utter breakdown of party and ideological lines. Sen. Wayne Morse, usually beating the drums for the radical left, wants to chop $900 million from the Administration's request. Mr. Morse is not thinking in terms of economy. He feels that foreign aid money is prolonging the cold war and encouraging such ventures as the Vietnamese war.

Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, has stepped out as floor leader. He wanted military and economic aid split up into two bills so that he could oppose the former and support the latter, but the Senate Foreign Relations Committee rejected his proposal. With Mr. Fulbright standing on the sidelines, it will be easier for dissidents to cut and amend the bill on the Senate floor.

Interestingly enough, such efforts as Sen. Fulbright's to keep economic aid appropriations intact, may boomerang. In the past, his prestige has been a major factor in holding back those who would drastically prune foreign aid measures. But Mr. Fulbright spoke too soon and too loud for "accommodations" with the Communist world, and for a change in our policy of holding back the Red tide. His speeches were loudly praised by some journalistic pundits and, of course, by the State Department's middle echelon.

But the acceleration of American participation in the Vietnamese fighting, and the terroristic counterblows of the Communist Viet Cong, have brought about some change in the atmosphere. Even among liberals, it is no longer unfailingly popular to call for appeasement.

In the days to come, Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) is the man to watch carefully. As minority leader, Mr. Dirksen can lead a strong opposition. Not only will many Republicans follow him, but he can work with Democratic conservatives. The senator from Illinois, however, has been more often than not in President Johnson's corner ever since the Bobby Baker case broke. It was Mr. Dirksen who prevented a full-scale Republican attack on the whitewash "investigation" of President Johnson's former protege. And Mr. Dirksen, for reasons best known to himself, has more often than not been carrying water for his Democratic colleagues.

If, in the hot-and-heavy of debate, Sen. Dirksen holds his fire, the Administration will have an excellent chance to blitz through a foreign aid bill that is only slightly amended. If Mr. Dirksen employs his considerable parliamentary talents, there may well be a donnybrook on the Senate floor which will end up with a bill that is closer to America's purposes and America's pocketbook at this time.

Another factor in determining what kind of bill can be enacted is the strength of the neo-isolationists—men like Sen. Frank Church (D.-Idaho). If, indeed, Mr. Church is speaking for more than himself, there will be one more grouping within the Senate which will stand behind the conservatives.

In any case it will be an interesting battle to watch—and one in which the taxpayer can take part, if he will.

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Rep. Otto Passman (D.-La.) is the foremost foreign aid critic in the House.

Sen. John Sparkman (D.-Ala.) will be the floor manager for Johnson's bill.

Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) may determine the bill's passage or defeat.

$11 Billion Foreign Aid Carryover Is Available from Previous Years

From the Allen-Scott Report

The stupendous total of $11.027 billion is available for foreign aid spending in the current fiscal year ending June 30.

This breathtaking sum, consisting of unspent foreign aid appropriations voted by Congress in recent years, is equivalent to more than 10 per cent of the entire federal budget for this fiscal year.

The $11.027 billion does *not* include President Johnson's $3.8-billion foreign aid program for the coming fiscal year.

How much of the $11.027 billion will remain unspent by July 1 is unknown—even by the 22 federal agencies administering the vast and multifarious foreign aid operations. It will be well into fiscal 1966 before authoritative detailed information can be compiled.

But one fact already is certain: Billions of authorized foreign aid funds will be carried over into the new fiscal year. That has happened in the past and will happen again. This is the unfailing record. Whatever new money Congress votes will only be the smaller part of what actually will be spent for foreign aid in the 12 months starting July 1.

Already the total is estimated at $7.5 billion.

This is the considered opinion of Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R.-Ky.), former ambassador to India and longtime staunch foreign aid supporter but lately sharply critical. His $7.5-billion estimate is based on the record going back a number of years.

Authority for disclosing the $11.027 billion in this fiscal year's foreign aid "pipeline" is Rep. Otto Passman (D.-La.), chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee in charge of this budget.

His meticulously detailed figures, laboriously assembled from official sources, have been laid before his committee in preparation for considering the President's new $3.38-billion program. A vigorous critic of large-scale foreign aid spending, Passman's aim is to slash that proposal to $2.25 billion.

Rep. Passman's startlingly revealing compilation covers "foreign aid funds by program and amount available for expenditure in fiscal 1965." Highlights of this unusual study, including old funds (June 30, 1964) and new funds (fiscal 1965), are as follows:

TITLE I	
Military Assistance:	$3,110,513,324
Development grants:	514,218,868
American schools and hospitals abroad:	32,496,865
Surveys: Investment opportunities:	3,028,545
International organization and programs:	205,722,377
Supporting assistance:	725,741,587
Contingency fund:	289,524,735
Chilean reconstruction:	9,599,023
Alliance for Progress:	1,706,513,996
Development loans:	2,874,227,247
Administrative expenses, AID:	58,948,741
Administrative expenses, State:	2,968,470
Acquisition of property:	3,349,436
Investment guarantees:	273,263,256
Total, TITLE I	$9,810,116,470
TITLE II	
Peace Corps:	$146,657,257
Army: Ryukyu Islands:	17,641,360
State: Migrants and refugees:	14,904,233
HEW: Cuban refugees:	48,790,703
Inter-American Development Bank:	405,880,000
International Development Assn:	583,222,410
Total, TITLE II	$1,217,095,963
Grand total, TITLES I and II	$11,027,212,433

In submitting these jolting statistics, Rep. Passman charged flatly that the gigantic foreign aid program has become unmanageable. As proof, he stressed the following three points:

- 22 federal agencies and 71,416 government employes are engaged in "disbursing some type of foreign aid to 99 countries and nine territories."
- This vast program "in its present form is uncontrolled and apparently uncontrollable. It has reached such proportions that even the confusers are confusing themselves. No program in the history of mankind has had as many paid lobbyists. It would take many, many pages, if not a book, to list the names of all individuals who are lobbying for or are recipients of this program."
- Foreign aid "has been the primary reason for our serious 'gold outflow' to foreign countries. On Dec. 31, 1963, our gold stockpile had dwindled to $15.596 billion, a drop of $7.261 billion in six years. During this same period, 57 countries received $12.436 billion in U.S. military or economic aid. And

(Continued on page 2)

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$11 Billion Foreign Aid Carryover

during this same period, these nations 'purchased' $6.977 billion of our gold."

Foremost among these countries and the gold they obtained from the United States are:

Austria $342.6 million; Belgium $716.-2 million; Britain $2.163 billion; France $1.415 billion; Greece $91.3 million; Iraq $29.8 million; Italy $248.8 million; Japan $202.7 million; Lebanon $53.1 million; Netherlands $565.1 million; Spain $514.3 million; Yugoslavia $20.-8 million.

Rep. H.R. Gross (R.-Iowa), member of the Foreign Affairs Committee and veteran battler for government economy, vigorously supported Passman's position, holding it proves that additional foreign aid funds are unnecessary this year.

"The more than $11 billion in the foreign hand-out pipeline as of July 1, 1964, beginning of the current fiscal year," declared Gross, "is sufficient to carry on this program for at least two years without a dime of new money this year or the next. Certainly it is far more than ample for the coming fiscal year.

"Doubtless it will be contended that some of this money is obligated. But let me point out that it can be de-obligated with the same speed and facility with which it was obligated. Of course, it is utterly ridiculous that there should be any part of $11 billion in this pipeline.

"I have no doubt that the State Department will soon issue another of its infamous 'white papers' with loaded questions and rigged answers

Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R.-Ky.) has urged that the entire foreign aid program be shut down so a study can be made.

in an effort to tear down Rep. Passman's figures. The public will do well to reject this propaganda effort, for no member of Congress knows more of the details of the foreign hand-out program than does Mr. Passman."

Echoing the charge that the government has lost control of foreign aid spending, Sen. Cooper urged that the entire program be suspended, with the possible exception of that in South America, in order to conduct a sweeping survey of what is transpiring and why.

It is Cooper's contention that only by recourse to such drastic action is it possible to obtain a sound grasp of the foreign aid problem, both in the United States and abroad. Undoubtedly this would cause a furore among foreign aid beneficiaries, but Cooper holds:

"It would simply let all countries know that our foreign aid program, established for good purpose, is our program and not theirs; that it is not fair to our people who must pay the bill, or to their people who are its objects, unless it is used effectively.

"We must not let any nation blackmail us with threats to get rejected American aid from the Communist bloc. Such countries should be told that the United States is not out to outbid Russia, but to help develop a reasonable five-year program of assistance. The countries we aid will respect us for insisting upon these conditions, for they will be benefited and without loss of any independence."

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WHEAT FOR TITO—The Agriculture Department has announced that more than 25 million bushels of U.S. wheat will shortly be shipped to Communist Yugoslavia under the Food for Peace program. The agreement calls for the United States to issue long-range credits in the amount of $53.4 million.

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GOOD QUESTION—Sen. Jack Miller (R.-Iowa) has sharply rapped U.N. Secretary General U Thant's criticism of U.S. "intervention" in South Viet Nam. "Isn't it strange," asked Miller, "that U Thant has no words of condemnation against North Viet Nam for its acts of aggression? Why didn't he condemn the violation by North Viet Nam of the Geneva pacts of 1954 and 1962?"

Congress Directed to Act

Lyndon Johnson: The Ringmaster

From the Chicago *Tribune*

President Johnson has directed the House to pass his Medicare bill. The House originally had other ideas. It had scheduled debate on the bill for the week of April 5, but the President's timetable called for the bill to go to the Senate before the end of March. So the Democratic majority (better than 2 to 1) of the House Ways and Means Committee followed orders and sent the bill to the floor.

Mr. Johnson followed the same tactics in his bill to extend voting rights in the Deep South. He said that there could be "no delay, no hesitation, no compromise," and he called upon Congress to work long hours and weekends. The President's notions of speed were disclosed when the bipartisan leadership notified the Senate that unless the bill was passed by April 15, the Senate would not be granted its usual Easter recess.

In his appearance before a joint session of Congress to call for voting rights legislation, Mr. Johnson showed his contemptuous disregard for the prerogatives of Congress by saying, "Wednesday, I will send to Congress a law . . ." A President, under this country's system of government, doesn't write the laws. That is a function reserved to Congress by the Constitution.

So here are two extraordinary pieces of legislation which come to Congress with the admonition for haste—not for sober and judicious consideration, but solely for haste. That governing health care for the elderly has grave consequences. It ignores the fact that a very large number of elderly people are already privately insured. Together with a 7 per cent increase in Social Security benefits, added to the health provisions of the bill, the cost in 1967, the first full year of operation, would exceed $6 billion.

Substantial increases in the Social Security payroll tax will be required to meet these costs. Further, the bill puts the government squarely in charge of the show, and, as a clamor for even wider protection develops, as inevitably it will, federal control will be extended.

The predictable result is extinction of the independence of the medical profession and the reduction of doctors to civil servants.

There are alternative solutions to providing health care for the elderly, but these are not to be considered, nor is the voluntary approach to be encouraged. Congress is simply to make haste, blindfolded if need be.

It is the same with the voting law, which is full of logical and constitutional abominations. It supersedes one constitutional right of the states by invoking another as paramount. It is directed at half a dozen states and so is comparable to class legislation. It discriminates among states and proposes to discriminate against certain voters by stating that once a voter is registered by federal authorities, he must vote at least once during three consecutive years on pain of being stricken from the list if he doesn't.

So again the White House word is: Don't stop to think, just approve. With the murder of a white woman sympathizer with the rights demonstrations in Alabama, that is almost certain to be the outcome.

Mr. Johnson is evidently the ringmaster in a circus with several rings, and the animals had better behave.

FBI Not a National Police Force

J. EDGAR HOOVER's April "Message to All Law Enforcement Officials"

A national police force is a tool of tyranny. I abhor the implications of the term, and I refuse to let the FBI be forced into practices which smack of police state actions, regardless of the circumstances.

Our country today is caught up in a great and too-long neglected cause of human rights. Some individuals, in their efforts to secure the fundamental guarantees of the Constitution for all citizens, have criticized this bureau for not exceeding its authority and for not assuming responsibilities belonging to local and state police.

The FBI fully appreciates the grave responsibility inherent in the investigation of alleged violations of federal civil rights statutes. . . I have stated many times, we are meeting these obligations without apology. Our role, however, is that of an investigator—not an accuser, prosecutor, jury, or judge. The FBI is a fact-gathering and fact-reporting agency, not a national police force. It is not empowered to furnish protection nor to police the streets of our communities.

Citizens should not be misled by the self-styled "medicine men" in our midst who with their patented tonics for all social ills profess to hold the magic key to Utopia. Under close examination, their credentials often prove to be as false as their charges that the FBI is "dragging its feet" and is not determined to enforce civil rights laws. The ludicrousness of these charges is exceeded only by their inaccuracy. What these drummers of discord are actually advocating is that the FBI dispense with the democratic principles of law enforcement and apply police state methods.

In a democracy, the end does not always justify the means. We must not lose sight of the fact that the path of justice is a two-way street.

To my mind, the freedoms and rights of our nation can be implemented, as well as preserved, without resorting to totalitarian tactics.

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POPULARITY POLL—The federal government during 1963 and 1964 spent $186,000 to discover that congressmen rank below doctors and scientists but ahead of airline pilots and priests in occupational prestige. The survey, conducted by the National Science Foundation, drew an angry reaction from Rep. Durward Hall (R.-Mo.), who said: "I nominate the research grant for the popularity poll of politicians and others as the most useless expenditure ever made of public funds."

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INVESTIGATION—The Department of Labor is currently investigating three recent union elections in which widespread fraud has been alleged. The elections were held by the International Typographical Union, the International Union of Electrical Workers and the United Steelworkers of America.

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'Peace' Groups Plan March on Washington

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Several thousand demonstrators representing radical "peace" groups from coast to coast will descend upon the nation's capital later this month to demand withdrawal or negotiation in Southeast Asia.

They will make up the "March on Washington to End the War in Viet Nam," an event heralded by the Communist party's organ, the *Worker*, as "the biggest demonstration ever for peace."

The April 17 march was originally called by the Students for a Democratic Society, a radical-left campus group with chapters throughout the country. In recent weeks, however, other organizations have agreed to co-sponsor the march. They include Women Strike for Peace, the Committee for Non-Violent Action, and the Student Peace Union.

Members of the Communist-controlled W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America will march. So will adherents of the Progressive Labor Movement and the May 2nd Movement, two groups that side with the Red Chinese in the Sino-Soviet dispute.

There is little doubt that agitation for withdrawal in Viet Nam has been stepped up in recent weeks. A confidential government report, drafted last month, revealed that "not since the Korean War has the Communist Party, U.S.A., seized upon an issue with such vehemence as the current Viet Nam crisis."

Note: Only last week, a New York leftist, the Rev. William Howard Melish, sponsored an open "Letter to the President" in the New York Times. Melish and other signers claimed in that ad to have voted for Lyndon Johnson "because we were alarmed by the war policies of Barry Goldwater." Now, the signers claim, "we find [the Johnson] Administration is, in Viet Nam, following the very policies we voted to reject."

Among the signers of the ad are several individuals accused under oath of Communist party membership—Anne and Carl Braden, Frank Wilkinson, Paul Robeson Jr., Harvey O'Connor. Other signatories have long records of Communist-front affiliations on file in Washington.

Other petitions protesting "escalation" of the Vietnamese conflict are circulating in many sections of the country. One is sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a pacifist group with headquarters in Nyack, N.Y. Those endorsing this petition include the Rev. Edwin Dahlberg, former president of the National Council of Churches; Methodist Bishop John Wesley Lord; and Prof. Henry J. Cadbury, former chairman of the American Friends Committee. Their petition to the President declares:

"The United States is actively responsible for the rain of fiery death poured out on a helpless peasantry who have been victimized by other people's wars for decades, and who have repeatedly made clear their dislike for the presence of any foreign power."

Communist functionary Frank Wilkinson is among those agitating for U.S. withdrawal from embattled South Viet Nam.

A third petition demanding a negotiated settlement in South Viet Nam is circulated by the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. Backers of this petition include John Roche, the national chairman of Americans for Democratic Action; veteran leftist Stringfellow Barr; and James Patton, president of the National Farmers Union.

The latest fad on many campuses is the "teach-in," a faculty-sponsored, all-night rally held to demand the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Viet Nam. Some 200 faculty members recently sponsored such an affair at the University of Michigan attended by more than 2,500 students. The students heard a New Jersey professor, Robert Browne, urge that the North Vietnamese leader, Ho Chi Minh, be invited to this country for peace talks.

"Ho Chi Minh is their leader, their George Washington," Browne insisted. "We can't get the people of Viet Nam to hate him."

Shortly thereafter, 1,200 students and faculty members attended a "teach-in" at Columbia University. They viewed films produced by the Communist Viet Cong and heard the same Prof. Browne again call for withdrawal.

"Even though it might lead to a Communist government," he said, "I would still urge withdrawal."

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'Teach-Ins' Over Viet Nam

Are We Being Taught by the Blind?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

One of the aims of the "Great Society" is to make a college education available to everybody. But heaven help the students of the future if we can't get college professors who have more brains than the dopes—and I use the word advisedly—who are arranging for the midnight-to-dawn "teach-ins" now being held on university campuses to force a scuttle-and-run policy on Lyndon Johnson in South Viet Nam.

A John Birch Society member might argue that these "teach-ins" bear every evidence of conspiratorial staff work. Well, as an old reader of Clarence Day's wonderful book, *This Simian World*, I wouldn't go so far as to say that the teach-in organizers are consciously a part of a Communist plot to undermine the foreign policy of the United States. So far as I can determine after discussion with people who ought to know, it's just another case of the simian inheritance of the human race —"monkey see, monkey do." But rest assured, the professors who have picked this one up are being made monkeys of by someone.

Take the teach-in held recently at the University of Michigan, for example. According to the reports from Ann Arbor, one of the teach-in aids used to panic the crowd was a film made by the Communist Viet Cong in South Viet Nam. Who brought the film into the United States? Who made it available for campus distribution? Does anyone care? And why aren't there teach-ins to give the other side of the picture?

A number of foreign correspondents and columnists have returned from South Viet Nam to say that we both can and must win the war to keep Southeast Asia from being "neutralized" in favor of the Communists. Anthony Harrigan, Marguerite Higgins, Frank Conniff, Holmes Alexander and Joseph Alsop, to name just five of a much larger number, would probably consent to make teach-in appearances. But these people are ignored. Who, actually, does the talking for the current type of affair?

Prof. O. Edmund Clubb is one of the featured talkers. He once headed the U.S. State Department's China desk. He was one of the group that once had a lot to say about the "agrarian reformers" who were going to put China on the road to Jeffersonian democracy once that bad old corruptionist, Chiang Kai-shek, had been ousted. There was nothing necessarily sinister about holding such views unless you want to say that stupidity itself is sinister.

Columnist Holmes Alexander is one of the newspapermen who could help set the record straight on the Vietnamese crisis.

Clubb may be a man of great knowledge, but his reasoning powers have not improved with age. He told a thousand teachers and students at a Columbia University teach-in that if the United States chooses to expand the war in Viet Nam, there are 300,000 North Vietnamese who will fight back, there is an army of 2 million Chinese, there are the Viet Cong in South Viet Nam —"and let us not forget the Russian military."

This is a breathtaking manipulation of figures, but what student of logistics would be willing to explain how anybody could possibly surmount the supply problems of maintaining millions of Chinese and Russians in a little tropical jungle corner of Asia? Just imagine how vulnerable the supply line of such a force would be from the air.

Clubb told his audience that "we could elect to negotiate and perhaps achieve some neutral status for Viet Nam." This brazenly overlooks the fact that Viet Nam already had neutral status before the Red Ho Chi Minh started his infiltration tactics in South Viet Nam some 10 years ago.

What bothers me about the participants in these teach-ins is not so much the evidence that the Communists are in the background egging them on. I am sure that most Americans are patriots, even when they are being victimized. What is really worrisome about the whole business is the obvious fact that some of our most learned men don't know how to define terms, or do simple addition, or read a map of the world with any sense of strategic realities, or put together an old-fashioned syllogism.

On the basis of what the teach-in mentality shows, the worst calamity that could befall the country would be to have all our young people going to college. The result would be an indoctrination of a whole generation with total mush.

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A New House Office Building?

From the Washington *Evening Star*

There are people in this world who have simply lost the sense of shame and proceed from one enormity to the next with no regard at all for the opinion of mankind. Such a one, it is now learned, is Congressman Wright Patman. The Texas Democrat has proposed that Congress rear back and create yet another House Office Building, this one to be named for Speaker John McCormack (D.-Mass.).

The first thing wrong is the precedent, since the idea strongly implies that from now on every Speaker will have a building built in his honor. The second and much more grievious wrong is precisely the absence of any shame over the Rayburn Building, a monstrous edifice, unfortunately designed to be fireproof and shock resistant, and destined to scandalize generations yet unborn.

The very least Congress can do is pass a resolution not to build any more buildings until all persons connected with the Rayburn catastrophe have gone to their reward, or whatever it is they'll go to.

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HOUSE KILLS pay raise for the Supreme Court. It's just a temporary setback, however. Treating the justices like that is bound to be unconstitutional. —By Lyn Nofziger in the San Diego *Union*

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CAPITOL CAMERA

• President Johnson's speech on Viet Nam last week has been drawing criticism from hard-line anti-Communists. The speech smacked of appeasement, with the President never insisting that there should be victory over the Communist aggressors. Furthermore, his call for "unconditional discussions" indicates Johnson is ready to negotiate even while the Reds hold vast areas of South Vietnamese territory. The President's proposal that the United States should funnel $1 billion into Southeast Asia, part of it to go to Communist countries and all of it to be distributed through the United Nations, is said to smack of "tribute" being offered the Reds (see Walter Trohan's column on page 11). The proposal is hardly likely to be greeted with unconditional glee in Congress, which is already against the current size of the foreign aid program.

JOHNSON

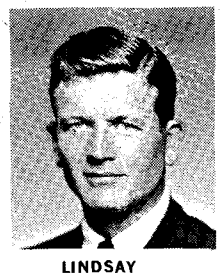
• *Big labor appears to be highly pleased with the Supreme Court's decision in the Darlington case, believing it is the wedge necessary to start unionizing the South. While the justices remanded the case to district court and the National Labor Relations Board on a technical point, they provided some "union encouraging" remarks. In the decision, the court said that if an employer shuts down a plant and in so doing may reasonably foresee that his action will "chill unionism in any of the remaining plants" he is guilty of an unfair labor practice. It even indicated that an employer cannot completely close down one business if this would chill unionism in other wholly unrelated businesses he owns. (For more on the Supreme Court's decisions see page 13.)*

• Ultra-liberal Rep. Jimmy Roosevelt's hopes for future political prominence were rudely shattered by maverick Democrat Sam Yorty's overwhelming victory in the Los Angeles mayoralty primary last week. FDR's eldest son, despite massive campaign spending and support from the liberal-labor blocs, could only get 37 per cent of the total vote. He had hoped to avenge earlier defeats in attempts to become California's governor and senator but rank-and-file voters in California once again repudiated "The Radicals' Choice for L.A. Mayor" (see *Human Events*, Feb. 20, 1965).

ROOSEVELT

• *While LBJ pretends to woo business, he continues to stab it in the back. Not only has he nominated Sam Zagoria, a former union president, to replace a conservative on the National Labor Relations Board, but he has placed a liberal on the all-powerful Federal Reserve Board. He is Sherman J. Maisel, a 46-year-old economics professor from the University of California. The appointment of Maisel, a professor, was a particular clout at business, for it represents a gradual swing away from appointing businessmen and bankers to the board.*

• Rep. John Lindsay (R.-N.Y.) recently charged that 78 per cent of the whites in Newton County, Ark., are registered to vote while not a single Negro is on the voting rolls. Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) put the issue in some perspective: "No more than two non-whites of voting age reside in Newton County out of a total non-white population of eight and there is some question even in the collective mind of the Census Bureau as to whether either of them is a Negro."



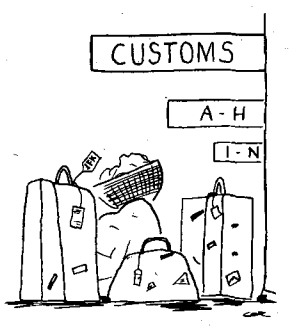
LINDSAY

This Week in Washington

Immigration Imbroglio

The former intelligence expert has also been on the receiving end of a broadside penned by Drew Pearson's colleague, Jack Anderson.

The Administration is launching an all-out offensive to get its immigration bill through Congress this year, but one man still stands in the way. He is Rep. Michael Feighan (D.-Ohio), head of House Judiciary Subcommittee No. 1, now conducting hearings on the bill.



Scrutiny of the Administration measure shows it would flood the United States with immigrants at a time when American labor is complaining about unemployment. It would drain skilled workers from the underdeveloped countries which need them. It would remove Congress from control of immigration policies. It would strike down built-in security barriers designed to prevent subversives from coming into the United States. And it would, shockingly enough, amend the old law to permit entry of known mental defectives (see story below).

But none of these faults has weakened the Administration's desire for its proposed law nor stopped some Democrats from turning the screws on Feighan. As a result of his successful opposition to a similar immigration bill last year, Feighan earned the enmity of powerful Administration forces in the State Department, in Congress and in the press. Certain department officials are believed to have tried to pave the way for a Feighan defeat last November and columnist Drew Pearson, a Democratic hatchetman, flew down to Ohio in a vain attempt to whip up public sentiment against the Cleveland congressman.

This year the attack against Feighan has been more oblique. Proponents of the Administration's legislation are striking out against the Ohioan by attacking one of his congressional aides, Phillip J. Corso, a former top-flight Army intelligence officer, who retired in 1963 as a lieutenant colonel after more than two decades of military service.

During those years Corso earned a solid reputation as an intelligence expert. When he left Rome in 1947, he was thanked by Prime Minister Alcide de Gasperi for helping prevent a Communist takeover in Italy. *Unita*, the leading Communist newspaper in Italy, described him in the April 30, 1947, edition as a "terrorist." He has received 17 decorations and over 50 citations for his work, including four citations from Cabinet members who became acquainted with him during his tour of duty with the National Security Council, the most important policy-making body in the government.

When he retired from the military in 1963, he was a chief aide to Lt. Gen. Arthur G. Trudeau, then a high-ranking Pentagon official. After serving for a year as an aide to Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.), he became a part of Feighan's congressional staff this year because of his expertise in the field of communism.

As an expert on the machinations of the Reds, Corso has helped Feighan locate the loopholes in the immigration bill through which the Reds could smuggle spies and saboteurs into the United States. When he was on Sen. Thurmond's staff, Corso also aided the Ohio lawmaker in exposing a Red shakedown of persons in America who were trying to get their relatives out of Communist-controlled countries.

Corso's efforts in spotting the loopholes have helped damp down the passions of some lawmakers for the immigration bill in its present form. And it is believed that for this reason, as well as the fact that Feighan could be hurt through attacks on his aide, that Corso is coming under intense liberal fire.

Atty. Gen. Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, who would be invested with enormous powers under the Administration bill, has drawn a bead on Corso. So has House Judiciary Committee Chairman Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.), an Administration pet who is sponsoring LBJ's immigration bill.

Celler, however, appears to be Corso's key opponent and he has personally thwarted Feighan's efforts to get Corso hired as a staff member of Feighan's Judiciary subcommittee on immigration. The subcommittee unanimously voted to approve Corso's selection this year in spite of Celler's known opposition, but Celler won't sign the pay vouchers.

Celler's antipathy is so great he has even offered Feighan two more top staff members and two secretaries if he will drop Corso. As a result of Celler's refusal to put Corso on the payroll, Feighan may be deprived of this anti-Communist expert's services.

Celler claims his primary reason for opposing Corso is an unsigned Department of Justice memorandum of November 12—since leaked to liberal members of the press. Corso, however, says the memo is full of unauthenticated and false allegations and even Atty. Gen. Katzenbach, who forwarded the memo to Celler, has admitted the charges are "unevaluated."

Furthermore, the memorandum "accuses" Corso of testifying before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1961. Corso did testify before the subcommittee regarding security weaknesses in the State Department, but sees nothing wrong in this.

As the Chicago *Tribune's* Willard Edwards has reported: "Thus, Feighan told Celler, the major issue bearing upon Corso's suitability for a staff appointment was: 'Should any individual who has been called before a committee of the Senate or House, with full approval and authority of his superiors, be penalized or put under suspicion as a shady or undesirable character?' "

Apparently Celler thinks so. Indeed, the entire Corso matter bears a striking resemblance to the case of security chief Otto Otepka, fired from the State Department after testifying to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee about loose security practices at State.

But the anti-Corso campaign is being used in a slightly different way. In striking at Corso, the immigration proponents are also striking at Feighan. And by striking at Feighan, the proponents hope to prevent Feighan from securing an immigration bill at odds with the bill proposed by the Administration.

• Under the Johnson immigration bill, mental defectives will be allowed into the United States. Under the old immigration law (Section 212a), the government was prohibited from bringing in "aliens who are feeble-minded" and "aliens who are insane." Now the new bill proposes to remove this mandatory exclusion section and make it possible for the attorney general, after consultation with the surgeon general, to allow both the "feeble-minded" and "insane" into the country.

LBJ's Artful Bill

The $1.3-billion aid to education bill not only puts the federal government firmly in the role of educating children by providing federally approved textbooks for children and federally built schools. It is, technically as well as philosophically, a sorry piece of legislation.

Marjorie Hunter, an education reporter for the New York *Times*, concedes: "The bill is not perfect. Friends and foes alike agree on that. In some respects its language is fuzzy."

But Miss Hunter also lets a not-so-subtle secret out of the bag: that the bill's language is "intentionally fuzzy." Its failure to set firm rules "was prompted by Administration efforts not to stir up cries of federal control."

Intentional and unintentional fuzziness, however, have produced such a poorly drawn bill that Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, the Harlem Democrat who heads the House Education and Labor Committee,

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says he will start hearings on a new bill in 30 days to improve the flaws of the one that just passed the House. Responded Charles E. Goodell (R.-N.Y.), a Republican who worked long hours to get some grain of sense into the education bill but was repeatedly rebuffed by the liberal majority:

"What a fine commentary on the legislative process that we are going to start hearings immediately on another bill to correct the mistakes we have made here!"

Purloined Letters

The Internal Revenue Service, in cooperation with the post office, has been seizing and opening first-class mail without a search warrant since 1962, Rep. Durward G. Hall (R.-Mo.) charged last week at a press conference.

Hall displayed as proof copies of a letter from Harvey G. Hannah, acting general counsel of the Post Office Department, in which Hannah acknowledged that on 14 separate occasions since December 1962 the two agencies have opened letters addressed to delinquent taxpayers.

Hall told reporters at a press conference that the two agencies are violating "the sacred seal of first-class mail" since they lacked search warrants.

To buttress his argument, Hall quoted Henry B. Montague, chief postal inspector, who gave the following testimony before the Senate Committee on Administrative Practice and Procedure on February 23:

"The seal on a first-class piece of mail is sacred. When a person puts first-class postage on a piece of mail and seals it, he can be sure that the contents of that piece of mail are secure against all illegal search and seizure.

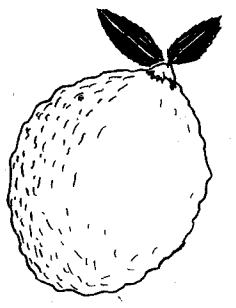
"The only time first-class mail may be opened in the postal service is when it can neither be delivered as addressed nor returned to the sender."

Hall said that this statement by Montague represents American tradition, concept and belief, but that "the 14 instances cited clearly belie that assurance."

The post office bases its action on the failure of the internal revenue code to cite first-class mail as being exempt from seizure. But Hall does not accept this explanation, noting that the United States code provides that only the holder of a search warrant or an employe of the dead letter office may open first-class mail in the custody of the post office.

Wirtz in California

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz is coming in for some sharp criticism because of his announcement that the day of importing foreign nationals to harvest American crops is gone. Under prodding by Wirtz, Congress last year ended the program which covered the "braceros," but Wirtz could still let them in under Public Law 414.



Saying he would see for himself if the growers were accurate in their mounting complaints that not enough domestic labor can be recruited for crop picking, Wirtz spent four days in California tromping through fruit groves, vegetable fields and labor camps before handing down his decision.

To the American people it might have appeared that Wirtz had arrived at his conclusion after a thorough on-the-scene inspection. Those closest to the situation, however, feel that the secretary made a grandstand play and came up with a preconceived notion—one right in line with the AFL-CIO's consistent opposition to the bracero program.

One reason for this belief was Wirtz's rude behavior toward those who want to continue the bracero program. Wirtz, for example, had promised to see four members of the Ventura County, Calif., board of supervisors and the county sheriff, who represent 300,000 persons, and hear why they felt the importation of foreign nationals was needed.

They had facts and figures showing the end of the bracero program had not only hurt the farmers but increased crime rates in areas using domestic migratory labor: Much of this labor, they said, could only be recruited from drunks and criminals since most Americans don't like to perform stoop labor. They were ready to tell Wirtz that private and county welfare costs had risen and that the lemon harvest, Ventura's big crop, would be lower this year because of insufficient crop pickers.

Crime in the city of Oxnard, they wanted to say, had jumped 62 per cent over last year and could be directly traced to the domestic migratory labor.

But the county's representatives couldn't tell the complete story. Wirtz hardly gave them the time of day, though four of the supervisors are Democrats, and one, Howard Robinson, had headed a business and professional group for Lyndon Johnson in 1964. (Robinson had previously tried to see Wirtz in Washington regarding the bracero program, but Wirtz was always too busy.)

While Wirtz had said he would meet them at 7:30 in the morning on Monday, March 29, he didn't arrive until 7:45. After killing some more time with coffee and rolls, he barked he would give the group just eight minutes. When the sheriff began to speak of crime statistics among domestic laborers, Wirtz shot back "Don't give me a snow job, sheriff, give me the facts." After sparring, but not listening, for seven minutes, he abruptly departed.

Reds in Civil Rights

Despite the politically-motivated assertions of Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach, evidence mounts that radical leftists now occupy positions of leadership within at least one national civil rights group, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Scripps-Howard newsman Ted Knap last week quoted government sources who characterized the SNCC leadership as "irresponsible" demagogues who permit Communists to join their cause.

• In an article in the *New Republic*, a pro-SNCC correspondent, Andrew Kopkind, revealed that SNCC has received funds from Carl Braden's Southern Conference Education Fund. Braden has been identified under oath as a Communist and has been convicted of contempt of Congress. Kopkind defended SNCC: "It is extremely difficult for SNCC to refuse assistance even if the donor's politics have not always been conventional."

• *Newsweek* quoted a SNCC official, Jimmy Garrett, as admitting that Communist party members have gone to Mississippi and Alabama to work with SNCC. But Garrett was unconcerned: "They're not subverting us, we're subverting them. We're more revolutionary than the Communists."

• The Washington *Star's* Walter Pincus revealed that SNCC leaders hoped to set up "Friends of SNCC" groups in "uncommitted" nations around the world. "Such foreign affiliates of SNCC," Pincus wrote, "could present Communist parties around the world with a ready-made organizational weapon for stirring up anti-American sentiments."

• SNCC president John Lewis has signed a statement circulated by radical peace groups in which he vows not to fight in Viet Nam if drafted by the Armed Forces.

Federal Insurance Control

Sen. Carl Curtis (R.-Neb.) has pointed to some hitherto unnamed dangers in regard to the Administration's Medicare package:

"If the supplemental health and Medicare portions of HR 6675 are enacted," said Curtis, "it will be the beginning of the end of private hospital and medical insurance for individuals over 65. Great progress has been made by private companies in providing insurance for those over 65. All of these benefits will come to an end if the federal government invades the field and acts as insurer and pays one-half the monthly cost. . . .

"While the government is the insurer and takes the risk for the supplemental health benefits, the administration on the program will be handled by outside carriers, supposedly such organizations as Blue Cross or insurance companies. Those outside carriers will be selected by the secretary of health, education and welfare. The secretary, in determining what companies he shall employ as outside carriers, will be able to oversee the work of such carriers and their contracts with doctors. Ultimately all will toe the mark."

CAPITOL CAMERA

• The Administration's voting rights bill does not have the support, even among liberals, that it had when LBJ first ballyhooed it over national television. Max Ascoli, editor of the liberal *Reporter*, magazine says Negroes, as well as whites, should be subject to literacy tests and liberal Sen. Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.) believes that "upon reflection" there are many things wrong with the bill. Leading House Republicans have united behind a substitute measure. While the attorney general could still send federal registrars into states without the necessity of a court order, the bill would at least have the virtue of allowing state literacy tests to stand. The registrars' job would be to see to it that the state laws for voting registration would be carried out in a non-discriminatory fashion.

SCOTT

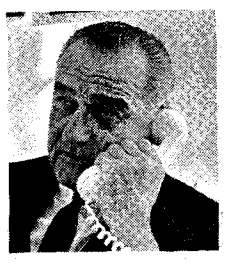
• *The war on poverty is flopping—in Philadelphia at least. A month ago, city officials predicted that 300 members of the new Neighborhood Youth Corps—high school dropouts and other unemployed youth—would be working by April 1. When that date passed last week, not a single corpsman was on the job. "We're not having as much interest in the program as we thought we would," admits Daniel J. Littley, district manager of the Pennsylvania State Employment Service. "The turnout is not what most people in the program expected it to be."*

• President Johnson is being sharply criticized for not slapping down Harlan Cleveland for saying at the Waldorf-Astoria recently that the United Nations has a role to play both in Berlin and Viet Nam. The assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs, it is said, has confused America's position and may have encouraged the Soviets to believe U Thant, the Marxist secretary general, would be the final arbiter of what is to be done in these areas in which the free world has an enormous stake.

U THANT

• U.S. News and World Report *says the "Great Society" is going to cost money—"lots of it." By 1970, the magazine says, the government will be spending $150 billion a year, a figure that will continue to rise. In the period ahead, most of the rise in spending will be not for defense or space but for health, education and welfare. Included are Administration plans for rebuilding cities, financing "satellite" cities near metropolitan centers, anti-poverty programs, rent subsidies and vast new programs of aid to education.*

• President Johnson, after first giving a tentative okay, has refused to attend the big policy luncheon of the Chamber of Commerce at the Washington Hilton on April 28. Chamber of Commerce spokesmen say they don't know the reason, but inside word is that LBJ is miffed at the chamber's outspoken stand against many Johnson proposals, including the demand that Congress repeal the right-to-work law.



LBJ

NOW AVAILABLE!
Human Events'
Guide to Congress
See page 16

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Gov't Involved in Daily Life

The Scope of Federal Interference

By REP. JAMES QUILLEN (R.-Tenn.)

In 1913, when the graduated income tax became law, there were only 396,000 federal employes. Today, there are more than 2.5 million, six times as many as in 1913.

During the 50-year period since 1913, our population has doubled—so, presumably, some growth in the number of federal employes was inevitable. But what actually happened was not a growth, it was an explosion. The result is this: We now have 6 times as many employes—spending 150 times as much money—to take care of a population that has only doubled in the past half century.

To show you just how much the government is involved in your daily life, let me run through an average day of an average citizen, starting at breakfast.

First, the coffee he drinks is controlled by a government-negotiated World Coffee Agreement. The cream

Rep. Quillen says that, because "it is gradual, the expansion of federal control over the daily lives of citizens often goes unnoticed."

he puts in the coffee, the milk his children drink, is controlled by a federal milk marketing order. The sugar for his coffee and cereal is controlled by a Federal Sugar Act. The corn for his cornflakes was raised on a farm whose farmer was told by some bureaucrat how much he could raise and how much he could sell it for.

The same thing applies to the wheat from which his bread was made. And his eggs were, more than likely, produced by chickens raised on government-controlled feed grains.

It is almost as if he was sharing his daily breakfast with a federal bureaucrat. By merely eating it, he helps justify his job and helps pay his salary.

Even with the clothes he wears, the government gets into the act. The cotton in his shirt is raised under a federal program and manufacturers of synthetic fibers are subject to federal interstate commerce regulations. The cuff links on his shirt bear a federal tax. And his wife's handbag and cosmetics are subject to federal luxury taxes—although she would hardly consider such items a luxury.

After breakfast, when he sets out to work, the shadow of the government hovers over him.

If he is in business for himself, the government has forms for him to fill out. If he is a teacher he knows that the government, likely as not, helped build the school he works in, and may even pay part of his salary.

And he may even wonder how long it will be before the government suggests how and what he can teach.

If he works for a transportation concern, he knows that the government tells his boss how often his ships can sail, where his airliners can fly and how much they can charge passengers, and how often he must run the trains on his railroad.

And if by any chance his company is thinking of bidding on a government contract, he knows that it has to face competition from literally thousands of government-run businesses operated with his own tax dollars.

Even when he goes to bed at night, the federal government is near. The alarm clock he sets has a federal excise tax levied against the luxury of getting up on time.

There is not time today to touch on all the taxes the average citizen pays to the federal government. They are too innumerable to mention. But it is fair to say that almost everything that everyone does today comes under a federal tax, a federal agency or a federal program.

The scope of this federal interference is sometimes hard to believe.

For example, a gas station owner in a southern city had a bright idea for drumming up trade. He planted a small piece of ground near his station with cotton. It was his plan to give each of his customers who bought gas a boll of cotton as a souvenir. So what happened? He was fined by the government for planting cotton without a federal permit.

An Amish farmer in Pennsylvania, because it was contrary to his religious beliefs, refused to pay his Social Security taxes. His horses, which he used to make his living, were seized by the federal government and sold to pay the tax.

Examples of this kind can be multiplied over and over.

Since it is gradual, the expansion of federal control over the daily lives of citizens often goes unnoticed. But it is there. And it is constantly enlarging. If it continues, we face not only a serious threat to the private enterprise system but to the very freedom which we value so highly.

□ □ □

REPUBLICANS APPEAR to be making a comeback in Philadelphia, the City of Brotherly Love that has for years given Democrats top-heavy electoral majorities. In recent years, the city's registration has favored the Democrats by 3 and 4-to-1. During the four-month registration period that closed recently, however, the Democrats could register only three of every five new voters. Moreover, 3,978 Democrats changed their registration to Republican while only 2,849 Republicans switched their registration.

□ □ □

RELIEVED— Accountant to fellow worker: "For a minute this deficit had me worried . . . I forgot I was working for the government."—From *The Tablet*

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'Can't Figure It Out—Them Russians Walking Circles Around Us In Outer Space!'

Courtesy the Cincinnati *Enquirer*

Flaring Strikes Throughout Nation Disrupt Defense and Space Progress

By VICTOR RIESEL

Strikes and strike threats are sweeping the nation with more triphammer impact and rapidity than they have since the end of the big war.

Despite war in the Orient and a Soviet cosmonaut prancing in space, unions—big and small—are doing business as usual. No industry, no strategic complex of vital construction work, is exempt. The Pentagon, NASA, steel, rubber, oil, newspapers, and airline industries are involved.

There apparently is no sense of national urgency or emergency in some labor circles. Especially on the local levels where production of vital supplies and weapons can be made or broken.

Recently an Orlando, Fla., plumbing local threw pickets around Cape Kennedy in a private war with a non-union firm. This shut off revamping of Pad 34, the only stand from which the Saturn 1B rocket can be fired for Apollo moonshot rehearsals.

I have been told by NASA officially that every day the cape is shut down by a construction workers' strike, the government loses $15 million. And every 8-hour strike by the 4,500 construction workers means one day slippage in the three-man rendezvous orbiting. It also means continued loss of face in the space race because NASA is planning spectacular operations during that shot.

Yet the small Orlando plumbers' union chooses the vital Cape Kennedy-Meritt Island Moonport as a battle ground. The local has no members working on the complex. However, the local has been trying to unionize the non-union firm of Harper Plumbing and Heating Co. of Winter Park, which is remaking Pad 34.

So the Orlando plumbers' union, knowing the urgency of the work on the base, is using it to force Harper to sign a contract with it for work being done in other parts of the state.

There is further concern in the Pentagon and the White House over possible strikes in the aerospace industry which interlocks with the experiment and blastoffs at the cape and other installations.

Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers has just released some 85 pages of documents presenting its case against the many aerospace companies.

There is no doubt that Reuther and his colleagues rarely expend such energy and detailed research unless they are prepared for action. And the aerospace industry contracts begin expiring in a few weeks and will be running out almost until 1966.

Also interlocked is the steel industry. The troubled United Steel Workers have asked for a package increase costing up to $40 a week over three years. The industry already has said it can afford to pay only $10.80 more in such a period. This looks hard to reconcile.

Thus it goes in other mass industries—all linked to the continued prosperity and war effort of the nation.

If such industries are struck at this moment in history, labor, as far as the public is concerned, will have to go to a rent-a-friend agency to get support.

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$1.34 Billion Education Bill Just a Starter

From the Richmond *News Leader*

As the education bill high-balled through the House, Charles E. Goodell, of New York, paused to remark on some curious diction in the text. One clause of the bill offers to supply modern educational equipment and specially qualified personnel on a "temporary or other" basis to public or other non-profit schools. Logic suggests that the other basis could be "permanent."

Similarly, the only other kind of non-profit school besides a public school is a private one. Another part of the bill offers federal money to publish curriculum materials and texts "developed at curriculum research centers and elsewhere." The curriculum research centers are provided for in the bill, but "elsewhere" means texts developed anywhere under the sun.

And yet another clause providing free school equipment says, "The term 'equipment' includes machinery, utilities and built-in equipment, and any necessary enclosures or structures to house them." Those necessary enclosures or structures thrown in so casually at the tail-end sound very much like whole new school buildings and plants, housing whole new schools, paid for 100 per cent by the federal government.

And, of course, that's exactly what they are. When the Senate approves the measure ("if" seems out of the question), a federal school system will have been erected behind a screen of double-talk, with the curriculum, texts, administrators and teachers selected, developed, and supplied by the federal government —without federal control, of course. The $1.34 billion authorized, naturally, is just the starter.

The ballyhoo behind the legislation says it will bring children in underprivileged areas up to the educational standards of the nation. But of the six titles, only the first sets up criteria based on poverty; the other five allow the commissioner of education to dispense money as he pleases. A close study gives some indication of the empire herein established:

Title I: The poverty formula, tied to present expenditures per pupil, results in the largest grants going to 10 of the wealthiest counties in the country. However, grants must be "consistent with such basic criteria as the commissioner may establish," and the commissioner can hold up funds until the local people knuckle under.

Title II: The commissioner makes gifts of library books and equipment to local agencies on whatever "equitable" terms he chooses. He deals directly with the local school boards or institutions, by-passing state departments of education.

Title III: The commissioner sets up so-called "supplemental educational centers," with the federal government paying all costs for "establishment, maintenance and operation of programs, including acquisition of necessary equipment." Local officials (not the state) must ask for these centers, but their plans must meet the commissioner's arbitrary criteria. Within the language of the law, these "centers" can be complete model school systems, from elementary through high school. The state's function is limited to offering "recommendations."

Title IV: The commissioner makes grants to colleges and universities for research, surveys and demonstrations. The present U. S. commissioner says "Our goal is a national network of federally supported but state-and university-operated research centers."

Title V: Having emasculated the state education departments, the commissioner now proceeds to "strengthen" them. The bill provides direct grants to compliant states for educational planning, curriculum research, publication of texts, and the training of administrators. To complete the hideous marriage, the commissioner is given authority to lend U.S. personnel to the states, and to bring state personnel into the U.S. office, for two-year periods.

Seldom has a law been proposed in such a flurry of deceit. It is only in the last, Title VI, that the definitions are given which hint that "equipment" includes whole school systems, with the necessary plans, teachers and texts supplied by the federal government.

But it is also Title VI that seals the law with the mark of duplicity. In Title VI, we are assured that after the federal commissioner of education has set the criteria, planned the educational approach and goals, approved the texts, and rewarded compliant state departments of education, he won't control education.

"Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to authorize any department, agency, officer, or employe of the United States to exercise any direction, supervision, or control over the curriculum program of instruction, administration, or personnel of any educational institution or school system." If a wee bit of control does seep in, no doubt it will be no more than temporary or otherwise.

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King's Boycott of Alabama Called 'Alarming' Proposal

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

Dr. Martin Luther King's call for a national and international economic boycott against Alabama is perhaps the most alarming action this civil rights leader has ever seriously proposed. Could he have considered all the consequences?

Dr. King is asking other Americans to set themselves against Alabama and deliberately discriminate against the goods produced by the more than 3 million Negro and white fellow Americans who happen to live within the geographical boundaries of that state.

It would be the poor Negroes and poor whites of Alabama who would bear the worst brunt of this proposed boycott.

Alabamans are not unlike other Americans in that they are a people proud of their state. Does Dr. King think that the effect of this boycott will be for the millions of whites in Alabama to cry "enough," denounce the governor they have elected and confess their sins to the nation?

Rather we would think that every Alabaman, and other Southerners, including those now employing their time and sweat to work out some peaceable solution to this racial crisis, would rally around Alabama and reject this implicit denunciation of an entire state —and a region.

Bringing Alabama to her knees is hardly the way to bring her to fuller acceptance of the new rules and laws of this land. Rather the opposite.

Dr. King has lost his perspective —and patience. He must remember that not until 1954 was it illegal to segregate public schools; not until 1964

The Rev. Martin Luther King's boycott idea has been rejected by many of his supporters.

was it unlawful for motels and major restaurants to keep out Negroes.

Because of the rulings and laws of this past decade, a century of tradition and an entire way of life must be discarded in the South. It is folly to think that such a radical change will not produce tension and, among the ignorant and reactionary, some violence.

As we are all Americans, it should be our objective to keep that violence to a minimum, to understand Alabama's agonizing problem while insuring that she moves into compliance with the law.

To clamp an economic boycott upon Alabama—which we lack the courage to clamp upon the Communist states of East Europe where all rights are denied indiscriminately—would be to declare the elected government of Alabama an enemy of the United States. That act would deal a crippling blow to the Union itself.

Using the example of the murdered Detroit woman and the murdered minister, Dr. King asked the boycott to end what he called the "reign of terror." Two murders by bigots, vicious and reprehensive as they were, do not make a reign of terror. Some of our larger cities, such as New York, can better come under such a definition.

In Alabama, as in every state, there are potential killers, both black and white, stupid, backward, brutal men, easily excitable, who would kill and have killed for little more provocation than the different color of a man's skin. Dr. King knows there are such men in Alabama.

As a man of non-violence, he should keep his demonstrations strictly within legal bounds—and discourage the participation of unnecessary outsiders, recognizing full well that it is these outsiders who trigger the murderous instincts of the criminal white bigots.

As for the priests, nuns, ministers and students—many of whom have the finest of motives in going to Selma or Montgomery—we suggest that the rights movement has now all the publicity it can handle.

We ask that they recognize the hard fact that their presence serves more to exacerbate the situation and incite violence than anything else, and that God will hear their prayers as clearly from St. Louis as He will from Route 80 in Alabama.

'Compromise' Often Means Loss of Integrity

By JESSE HELMS, WRAL-TV Commentator, Raleigh, N.C.

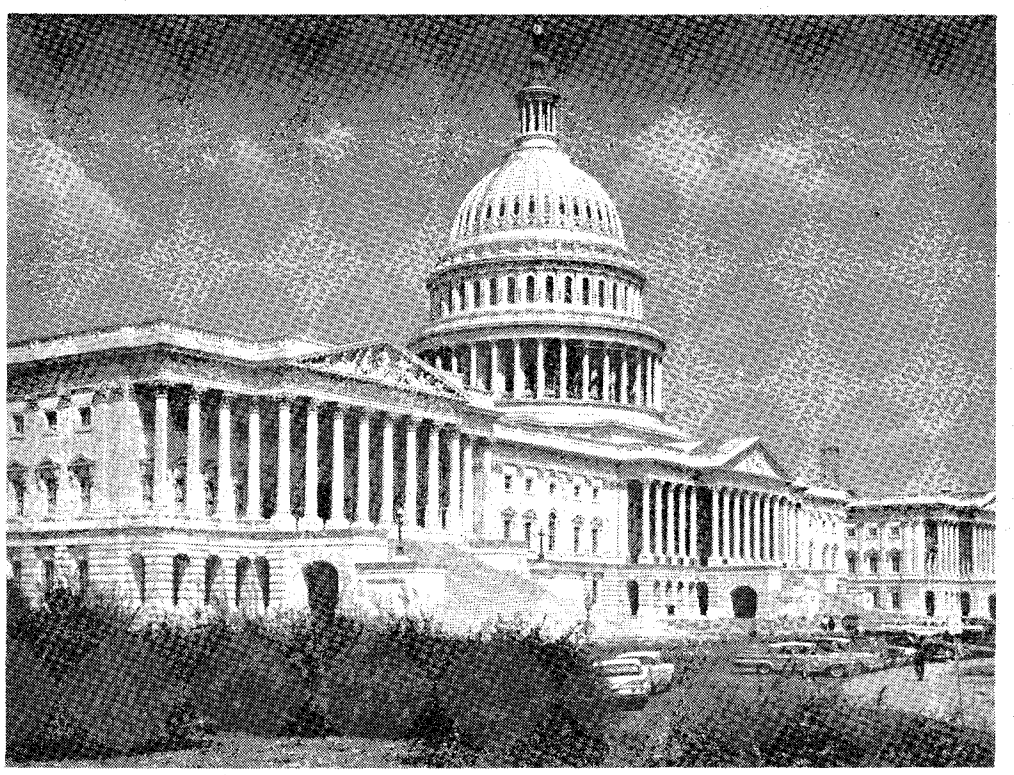
At a social function in Washington the other night, one of the more prominent members of Congress recited, in some detail, his complaint that our editorials have been—from his point of view—a little heavy-handed in differing with his voting record in the Congress. But the more the gentleman talked, the more confusing it all became. In the end it was clear that the congressman does not agree with his own voting record. It was *not* clear, then, why he expected us to agree with it.

We acknowledge that the gentleman has a problem. But, as is the case with most of man's problems, it is largely of his own making. Simply said, he long ago began to rely upon compromises and now—by his own admission—his legislative life is a dreary series of one compromise after another.

This is how, and why, the Congress has lost its force and, in large measure, its integrity in the performance of its constitutional duty. It has not merely abdicated its responsibility; it has surrendered its role of providing checks and balances against the headstrong thrusts of the executive and judicial branches of the government. The Congress today is mainly a gathering of Nervous Nellies, reluctant to resist the caprices of the Supreme Court and afraid to reject the pressures from the White House.

The congressman's recitation of his woes was sad indeed. But he is due less sympathy than the people he is supposed to represent. What has happened to him has happened also to a majority of the other members of both the Senate and the House. They have reduced themselves to pathetic rubber stamps, embarrassed to participate in a governmental farce and afraid not to do so. The end result is a ridiculous game of charades.

So the Congress compromises, yielding at once to both the executive and judicial branches. And since the members of the court have been carefully selected to reflect a consistently favorable attitude to the views of the White House, the real power of government now resides with the presidency. It is a puppet show unequaled before in history.



Through 'compromise' many members of Congress have abdicated their responsibilities.

But the people of the land have no real cause to complain. In a spiritless complacency they have permitted it to happen. They have turned their back on candidates who warned that America needed to wake up. To heck with principles, America has said, let's slice the pie!

And so, the congressmen have sliced and sliced and sliced, swapping this piece for that one, making deals, scratching backs, exchanging votes. Now they are approaching the end of the line. The only direct representatives of the people suddenly discover that they no longer have the power to properly represent the people. They take what they can get, and do what they are told. All that is left is a hope that they may yet, for awhile longer, put an acceptable face on the farce.

It cannot be said that we were not warned. The very foundations of our government are warnings of what would happen if very clear principles were not preserved and respected. But America, intoxicated by subsidies and slogans and promises and indifference, became too busy having a binge. We told ourselves that debt didn't matter, that personal responsibility didn't count and that all problems were national and thus to be settled by federal laws and rules and regulations.

The frustrated congressman, reciting his troubles on that Saturday night, was simply talking about chickens coming home to roost. Unfortunately, his troubles are not his alone. For he has compromised in our name. His vote has been our vote. He has made deals and swaps, presuming that his conduct was satisfactory to the people back home. And why not? He has been returned to office time after time.

We need to understand that we are merely harvesting the bitter fruit of years of compromised principles. What the unhappy congressman has learned ought to be a lesson to all the rest of us: When one barters away his responsibilities, he also is throwing away his liberties as well as his opportunities.

And, sadly, the road back to individual freedom becomes longer and more difficult with each passing day.

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NEWS MANAGEMENT—The National Aeronautics and Space Administration has been and still is practicing news censorship, news management and actually violating the law in its failure to provide the American public with non-security information it has obtained on Russian space activities, declared a report issued March 20 by the House Foreign Operations and Government Information Subcommittee. A long investigation, the report stated, showed NASA deliberately withheld information "which, by law and consistent with national security, should have been made public." The House group demanded NASA make immediate changes in order to supply Americans nonclassified information.

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A NEW CRITERIA OF NEED—Aid to the public and private elementary and secondary schools under President Johnson's aid-to-education program will account for approximately $1 billion in federal tax money for the first year. It is estimated that California might be eligible for some $60 million in payments to school districts which have families with incomes under $2,000 a year. The taxpayers of California will contribute to this program approximately $110 million. In the poverty program a family with an annual income of less than $3,000 is considered to be living in poverty, while in the educational program the standard of poverty is set at $2,000.—Rep. J. Arthur Younger (R.-Calif.)

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Urban Renewal Continues to Crush Inalienable Rights

Reprinted with permission from *Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly*

In this thriving era of people's capitalism, when everyone but the short interest feels free to criticize management, annual meetings often make unexpected news. Recently the moment of truth, so to speak, came to a concern called Electronics Corp. of America.

Despite a handsome increase in 1964 sales and earnings—and the promise of better things to come—dissident elements voiced sweeping disapproval. One man assailed the company for paying too little heed to the price of the stock. Another heatedly berated ECA for opposing a local redevelopment plan to raze a huge industrial site in Cambridge (including corporate headquarters) and turn it over to the National Aeronautics and Space Agency, a foolish gesture of defiance which, he feared, might lead to the loss of valuable government contracts.

Arthur G. B. Metcalf, president of Electronics Corp. of America, had a good answer. The condemnation scheme, averred Mr. Metcalf, is a "flagrant misuse of urban renewal authority." Management, he added, must be concerned "with property rights and human rights, as well as the damage the program will do to our company."

HHFA Administrator Robert Weaver says families displaced by urban renewal are easily relocated but the facts do not bear him out.

While perhaps not a triumph of parliamentary procedure, the spirited give-and-take at ECA's annual meeting strikes us as vastly significant. For one thing, it suggests that the Bay State's junior senator meant every word he said when he pledged to "do more for Massachusetts."

Again, the unguarded remarks of the second stockholder tend to betray the moral swamp on which the "Great Society" so uneasily rests: fall in line or else. Mr. Metcalf's eloquent reply, contrariwise, affirms that at least some businessmen are ready, willing and able to stand up for what used to be viewed as their inalienable rights.

UR Ignores Mistakes

Most dramatically and clearly, the episode draws attention to the spreading blight on the national landscape known as urban renewal. Like most forms of creeping socialism, this one has shown a remarkable ability to ignore results (or the lack thereof) and to shrug off dispassionate appraisal. Martin Anderson, assistant professor of finance at Columbia's Graduate School of Business, not long ago published *The Federal Bulldozer*, a devastating critique of the program's philosophic, economic and social failure. In recent months aroused citizens in one community after another have opted to reject its empty promises. Nonetheless, the pursuit of this unwanted and unwarranted intrusion, by interested parties in both private and public life, goes relentlessly on. Business, as we have said before, writes off its mistakes and cuts its losses. The welfare state cherishes them.

Some mistakes, to be sure, are costlier and harder to justify than others. Thus the liberal establishment, which prefers to dilute force with persuasion—"come let us reason together"—has been hard-pressed to defend urban renewal against a proliferating horde of detractors.

The critics have made, and documented, an impressive case against the program: it has destroyed several times as many housing units as it has built; it has blighted more acres than it has renewed; far from raising local tax revenues, it frequently lowers them; it has worked serious hardships on hundreds of thousands of tenants and small businessmen whom it has displaced; it constitutes a vast abuse of the awesome power of eminent domain.

From Slum to Slum

Nonetheless, since the turn of the year its champions have mounted a counter-attack of sorts. In January the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia took a pot shot at critics whom it dismissed as "sidewalk superintendents." In mid-March Albert M. Cole, administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency under Eisenhower (and current chairman of ACTION, a citizens organization concerned with the improvement of cities), charged that opposition to urban renewal largely springs from "inaccuracies or grave distortions of the truth."

Robert C. Weaver, who now heads HHFA, also did his bit for the cause. Citing the preliminary results of a new survey on relocation, Mr. Weaver was pleased to conclude: "The findings refute frequent charges of widespread failure by urban renewal to meet its rehousing obligations."

Counsel for the defense have several things in common. One way or another, they are interested parties (Mr. Cole, who doubles in brass as president of Reynolds Metals Development Corp., sponsor of several large urban renewal projects, has a multiple stake in the effort). All are willing to concede that much of the criticism of the past is sound.

"In the early 1950s," notes the FRB of Philadelphia, "when the bulldozer technique of slum clearance was used, the people dislodged from old slums just moved to the edges of the areas, creating new slums." Finally, when they proceed to argue that the future will be different, all are equally unconvincing. The man of ACTION is a case in point.

"Typical criticisms of urban renewal," he recently stated, "rely heavily on data from 1959 and 1960, when obviously there had been a great deal more clearance than new building. If you use five-year-old statistics, it is easy to prove that urban renewal had created a lot of vacant land. But the facts are that in three and a half years, from the beginning of 1961 to the middle of last year, the amount of cleared land conveyed for redevelopment tripled, land with construction completed doubled, and land with construction underway also doubled."

Percentages Distorted

In the absence of specific figures, of course, percentages are meaningless. Moreover, since "cleared land conveyed for redevelopment" may lie vacant for years, Mr. Cole, far from proving his point, has given fresh ammunition to the critics.

Mr. Weaver stands on equally shaky ground. Citing a new Census Bureau survey of some 2,800 relocated families, he reported that "94 per cent of the people displaced by urban renewal operations, still residing in the same locality and for whom there are known addresses," have moved into "standard dwelling units." Hence, the HHFA official cheerfully summed up, better relocation procedures have yielded a "high level of rehousing proficiency."

In view of the deplorable conditions which formerly prevailed, some improvement may have occurred. On close scrutiny, however, the actual figures (labelled "first findings" by Census) are nothing to brag about. For one thing, they exclude all the people who moved out of urban renewal neighborhoods prior to formal relocation; in some cases, owing to protracted delays in clearing sites, these constitute a sizable group indeed. Nearly 10 per cent of the "standard dwellings" which Mr. Weaver proudly cites also carry the official designation "deteriorating."

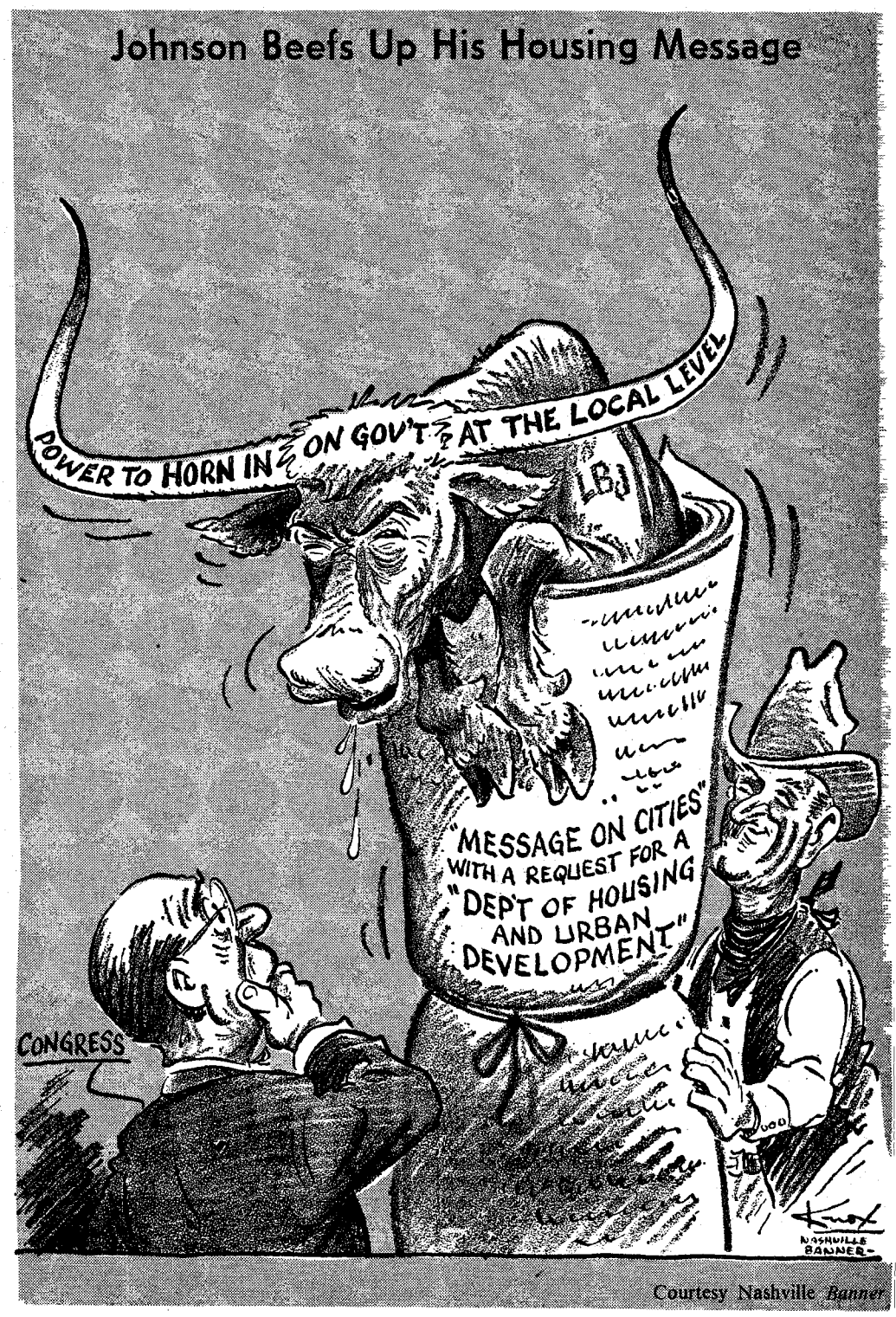
Buried in the Census findings are several other eye-opening disclosures. Most of the hapless victims of urban renewal wound up paying considerably more for shelter. Roughly 6 per cent of all relocated families showed their discontent by moving out of their new quarters within six months. Another 5 per cent deserted the inhospitable city altogether.

Voters Reject Renewal

The clinching case against urban renewal comes from those who have voted not with their feet but with their hearts and minds. Last November voters throughout the country—in South Milwaukee, Wis.; Monroe, Mich.; Baltimore County, Md.; Rutland, Vt.; and Orlando, Fla.—turned down proposed urban renewal projects. In a referendum held last month, residents of Fairfield, Conn., by a two-to-one margin, rejected a grandiose master plan for their town. Elsewhere in New England, aroused citizens have thrown legal roadblocks in the path of the federal bulldozer.

Urban renewal, as the management of Electronics Corp. of America so plainly perceives, is a tangible threat to everybody's rights. By the yardsticks of a free society it stands condemned.

Johnson Beefs Up His Housing Message


POWER TO HORN IN ON GOV'T AT THE LOCAL LEVEL
LBJ
"MESSAGE ON CITIES" WITH A REQUEST FOR A "DEPT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT"
CONGRESS
NASHVILLE BANNER

Courtesy Nashville *Banner*

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Advice to Conservatives:

How to Win Headlines and Influence Reporters

By BEN STOKER

The article below is reprinted from the New Guard, *a publication of Young Americans for Freedom. Although directed at YAF members and their local chapters, the suggestions the author makes are good advice for all conservative groups and individuals throughout the nation.*

In early January of this year, the then embattled chairman of the Republican National Committee, Dean Burch, sat down to lunch at a fashionable Washington restaurant with the nationally syndicated columnist, William S. White. Over a leisurely meal, Burch and White, a long-time friend of President Lyndon Johnson but a writer who frequently takes conservative positions in his column, discussed first general politics and then Burch's continuing effort to retain his office as Republican National Chairman.

The young Arizonan, who had been selected for his job by Senator Barry Goldwater at the Republican National Convention in San Francisco, stressed one point: liberal Republicans like Nelson Rockefeller of New York and disgruntled Republicans like Robert Smylie of Idaho kept accusing him of practicing "exclusionary policies" during the presidential campaign.

But, argued Burch, the liberals in trying to oust him were guilty of the very same tactic for which they were attempting to remove him—exclusionism. Didn't conservatives and Goldwater supporters still have a right to some voice in the Republican party? he asked.

Columnist White nodded agreement. If the Rockefellers and Smylies wanted to remove Dean Burch because he was a Goldwater man, White opined, and they no longer wanted any Goldwater men as Republican leaders, they ought to say so.

The two men smiled, shook hands and went back to their respective offices.

Some General Rules

Three days later, the Washington *Post* (and some 150 other papers) carried a column by William S. White in which the pundit declared:

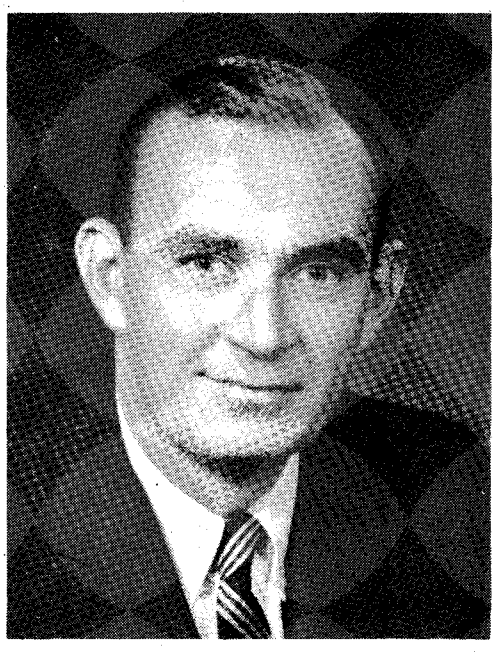
. . . "Not even the Goldwater people are always wrong, though not many are left to say as much in these days when Republican eats Republican with an avid cannibalism that can only be produced within a party by a very bad licking at the polls. And the simple fact is that it is not Burch but rather the moderates and liberals who are presently excluding other Republicans from the party, if exclusion means what the dictionary says it does."

Herewith an excellent example of how to win a headline without any skulduggery, payoff, hanky-panky or pressure whatsoever. All it took was the right salesman, the right setting, the right audience and the right topic.

Let's draw up some general rules which can be applied in a communications program in your city.

Ben Stoker is the pen name of a prominent young conservative long active in the communications field—as writer, editor, PR director and press aide.

(1) Learn who the political reporters and editors are and become friendly with them. Become familiar with their political interests and prejudices. Some conservatives might have argued that because White is an old friend of Lyndon Johnson he would never write a sympathetic column about Dean Burch. If nothing else, you can always give a reporter or a commentator an exclusive story—and regardless of his politics he'll use it.



With the right approach even Goldwater-chosen National Chairman Dean Burch got a favorable story.

(2) Learn to be persuasive. Don't tell the man what to write or not to write. Marshal your facts, figures and arguments beforehand and then pick the right time and place to present them. White was particularly receptive for a balancing story on January 5 because there had been a recent spate of articles about Gov. Smylie and his cries of exclusionism.

(3) Contact all possible media. Research every daily newspaper, television station, radio station, weekly newspaper, ethnic newspaper and local magazine in your city. Communications is like selling—the more people you try to sell the more sales you are going to make. So don't content yourself with contacting just the two or three political reporters on the daily newspaper—seek out the men who cover politics on radio, television and the weekly papers and local magazines.

(4) Plan a long-range campaign. Few of us make friends overnight. It takes time to build up contacts in the news media and arrive at that point where a reporter or commentator may accept your point of view and promise to give it a ride in his next article or broadcast. Don't be discouraged if you don't get results right away. In fact, you should be dumbfounded if you do. And if you do, don't relax, because you probably won't score that well the next time.

(5) Keep in mind that your audience is not other conservatives but the uncommitted. Last year the Colorado Goldwater for President Committee received consistently good coverage in the Denver *Post* because the committee's chairman, Herb Koether, understood public relations and assiduously wooed the *Post* people for months. As for ABC, the man assigned to cover Sen. Goldwater during the campaign was John Rolfson, who became quite friendly with both Sen. and Mrs. Goldwater, with the happy result that his coverage was consistently fair and unbiased (regardless of how Edward P. Morgan and Howard K. Smight might have caviled). Always remember that most people are either indifferent to politics or uncommitted to a particular point of view. The carrot—not the stick—will move them in the direction you want them to go.

(6) Be honest, reasonable and available in your dealings with newsmen. Nothing will kill you faster than a reputation that you don't deal straight. Also, don't expect miracles and a favorable story or comment every time. An unfavorable story might have been edited by someone up the line. A favorable story might have been killed because the paper was tight on space. Perhaps the reporter was tired or sick and just didn't feel like adding a paragraph about Young Americans for Freedom. By all means don't accuse him the next time you see him of selling out, deliberately gutting you or of being prejudiced. Keep trying, keep calling up with tips and reports, and you're bound to see and hear more about YAF every day.

Various News Media

With this general background in mind, let's next list some of the news media which exist in every metropolitan area and consider how a YAF chapter can use them to promote itself and conservatism.

Wire services: The Associated Press and United Press International should be your first ports of call on every news occasion. They service not only all the papers and stations in your city but their reports go out across the nation to thousands of news outlets. A paragraph about Chicago YAF could be printed in all 50 states if the AP or UPI carries it. Learn all you can about the personnel of your city's wire services and visit them frequently.

Television: Almost every city has at least one weekly discussion program, usually on Sunday. Get acquainted with the producer and persuade him to invite one of your members to appear on his program. Make contact with the news departments and see to it that they know about your meetings, debates, demonstrations and policy statements. Investigate the educational television (ETV) station in your city. These ETV stations are usually on an ultra-high frequency (UHF) and had small audiences in the past. However, all new TV sets are built to receive VHF and UHF stations, meaning that these stations should be exposed to the conservative point of view—YAF can ensure they will.

Radio: As with television, you should determine the political commentators and make sure they receive all news releases. (Minor but important point: don't send them a "press" release but a "news" release. Broadcasters are rather sensitive about this.) Radio stations also have discussion programs and you should find out which ones lend themselves to a visit by a YAF member. Don't overlook the women's shows which go on in the mid-morning and early afternoon. If you have an articulate female YAFer, arrange an appearance. . . .

Newspapers: Visit and get to know the editors and political reporters. Go right to the newsroom. Don't be timid or afraid. They'll be impressed by your aggressiveness as long as you don't tell them how to vote. They're interested in obtaining news, not in conducting debates. Take your news release personally to the newsroom. A mailed release often winds up in the wastepaper basket or is never opened in time. *Personal salesmanship can't be beat.* This applies with respect to all news outlets—papers, radio-TV stations, magazines. If at all possible present your news story *in person.*

Other Possibilities

Repeat this procedure with the weekly newspapers, which are often more receptive than daily newspapers for the simple reason that they don't have the time or staff to get news—especially about groups like Young Americans for Freedom.

Magazines: Newspapers in the larger cities have Sunday supplements. The Washington *Post* has "Potomac," the New York *Herald Tribune* has "New York." There are similar supplements in most cities, and they specialize in feature stories and photo layouts which lean toward treatment of groups like Young Americans for Freedom. In addition there are some locally published slick paper magazines which should be approached, but only with a specific story idea.

Letters to the Editor: Here is a natural occupation for Young Americans for Freedom. Keep your letters short, timely and reasonable in tone, remembering that your target is not a conservative but a politically uncommitted citizen who must be persuaded, not pushed. . . .

Civic Groups: This is off the beaten path of communications but—volunteer to address any and all groups in your city. Offer to debate liberals before any forum. Let your contacts in the news media know beforehand where you are going to speak and what you are going to say—and then tell them afterwards what you did say and before how many. . . .

Ethnic outlets: Seek out the nationality papers and radio (and TV) stations in your city. Emphasize anti-communism in discussions with them. Challenge Negro editors to give you space in their papers to outline the conservative position on civil rights.

Photographs: Think constantly of picture possibilities for the newspapers . . . . When you open a new chapter headquarters make sure you invite the photographers from the wire services and the newspapers. If YAF members help in some community project make sure the newspapers are there to record the event. If you present a petition to the mayor about the new bond issue, invite the photogs. If you picket a meeting, a movie theater, a monument, always alert the men who take the pictures. . . .

These are just a few of the things which you can do today or tomorrow in the field of communications and public relations to let the people of your city know that Young Americans for Freedom is in their midst and is constantly engaged in political and community activities.

Remember your goal: to so condition the news media in your city that when they want the conservative point of view, they will come to you. . . .

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U.S. Army helicopters scatter amid Viet Cong machine-gun fire after disembarking South Vietnamese troops.

Johnson Tries to Buy End Of Viet War with Dollars

By WALTER TROHAN

President Johnson is offering American dollars and know-how to Communists in Southeast Asia as a way of buying an end to the war in Viet Nam.

In a statement read to a Cabinet meeting and then released to the public, the chief executive held out a bunch of "carrots" to the Reds. He held out the prospect of greater American support of peaceful "economic and social cooperation" in "all Southeast Asia" if North Viet Nam's "aggression is stopped."

The President was seen as offering a sort of Marshall Plan for Southeast Asia, including its Communist regimes and regimes neutral against the United States, as the "carrot" to go along with the stick of aerial bombardment of North Viet Nam. It was said the President was not thinking of direct aid to Hanoi, such as was given to Communist Marshal Tito, but was rather opening the door to vast regional development.

Obviously Johnson was seeking a better American image in the area of conflict. In seeking the image, which some feel has been tarnished by the wielding of the stick of aerial bombardment and the use of tear gas, Johnson was seen as bowing to world opinion, which former Secretary of State Dean Acheson recently warned is a nebulous thing at best and a hobgoblin at worst.

"Granted that pundits, by written and spoken word, disseminate a non-existent world opinion, where do they get it, and what do they give for it?" Acheson wrote recently in the New York *Times* Magazine. "They give the means and the assurance of dissemination. World opinion they get from one another, from lesser disseminators, demeaningly called 'the working press,' and as the result of an actual 'fact-finding' tour.

"On this tour they visit the sources of opinion open to the working press, which in most of the world is the government, or those kept by the government. If they are pundits of prestige, they may have a private interview with (until recently) Mr. Khrushchev or Gen. de Gaulle.

"Governments produce local opinion chiefly for export, on subjects which are deemed suitable for opinion. It may be designed to please or to frighten, to assure loyalty or threaten defection; or the source may spar for time, in which case opinion is said to be 'vacillating.' The working press meets working businessmen, who have drunk from the same spring. Over different drinks they confirm one another's impressions; and someone gives the word to the CIA. Occasionally one of our own ambassadors, and not always a political appointee, takes to excessive consumption of local material and becomes, himself, a producer of world opinion.

"In the more sophisticated countries sources of opinion may be controlled by anti-government as well as government groups; and there is a possibility, though not a great one, that a fraction may be independent."

Acheson cautions against bowing toward world opinion factories. He insists that world opinion is often "pure fancy —no more substantial a ghost than the banging of a shutter." He would have the United States do right, and contends that the American image will take care of itself.

Doing right would not seem to be playing the game of buying friendship, when it has become obvious that if the Communists, who are past masters at the building of phony world opinion, can be bought, they won't stay bought any more than we have been able to buy the friendship of our supposed friends.

(Copyright 1965, Chicago *Tribune*)

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COMMIES APPROVE—*People's World*, official organ of the California Communist party, raved over LBJ's voting rights speech, terming it "the greatest speech of his political career, an eloquent pledge by the chief executive to use all of his persuasive political power to push through Congress a bill that will 'strike down restrictions to voting in all elections . . .' "

Bumper stickers: "Please, Uncle Sam"
"I'd Rather Do It Myself"
"I'm Fighting Poverty, I work"

Buttons: "I am A Right-Wing Extremist"
"I'm Fighting Poverty, I Work"
"No More Koreas—Win in Viet Nam"
25¢ each 5 for $1

Cal Conservatives For Political Action
2521 Durant
Berkeley, California

Republicans Trapped on Medicare

From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

That was a pretty kettle of fish in which a bunch of House Republicans managed to get themselves.

Led by Rep. John Byrnes of Wisconsin, most of the members of the minority party on the House Ways and Means Committee decided they needed a "positive image" regarding medical care for the aged.

'Twouldn't do, they decided, simply to be against the Administration's Medicare proposal, nor attach themselves to everything in the American Medical Association's Eldercare program.

So they came up with their own plan, providing not only for hospitalization but for payment of doctor bills under a voluntary insurance program financed partly by the government and partly by the elderly but not under Social Security.

As the *World-Herald*'s Darwin Olofson told the story in a Washington dispatch, both conservative Republicans and liberal Republicans backed Mr. Byrnes' proposal.

This was to be the Republican way of doing things—not only to out-promise but to out-deliver the Democrats on this particular welfare program. Make LBJ and his welfarists look like a bunch of pikers. Show how inadequate Medicare is, which in all truth it is, and give the country a dazzling big medical care package with a fine handsome Republican label on it.

And what happened?

Those fiendishly clever Democrats welcomed the Byrnes alternative with open arms and simply added it to the Medicare bill for which they intend to take complete credit.

And where does that leave the Republicans and their "positive image"?

Out in the chill March winds, that's where. And looking more than a little ridiculous as the Democrat-dominated committee marches out with its "Elder-Medi-Byrnes-Care Bill."

The lesson should have been unnecessary. The Republican planners know they can't out-promise the Democrats on welfare without tumbling head over heels into the Socialistic pit.

Likewise, they know, if they have any political perspicacity at all, that the voters didn't send them to Congress to outbid Lyndon Johnson on Medicare.

And finally they know, or experience should have taught them, that "me-tooism" wins few customers away from the welfare counter where the Democrats have been operating these past 30 years. For people who like that sort of thing, Mr. Johnson and his predecessors have all the patents and know all the tricks.

The old-fashioned idea that it is the primary duty of the opposition to oppose still has a very great deal to recommend it.

Rep. Byrnes and his friends, nursing their wounds after their recent defeat, might do well to reflect upon that idea, especially when principle is at stake and the pursuit of expediency has proved so profitless.

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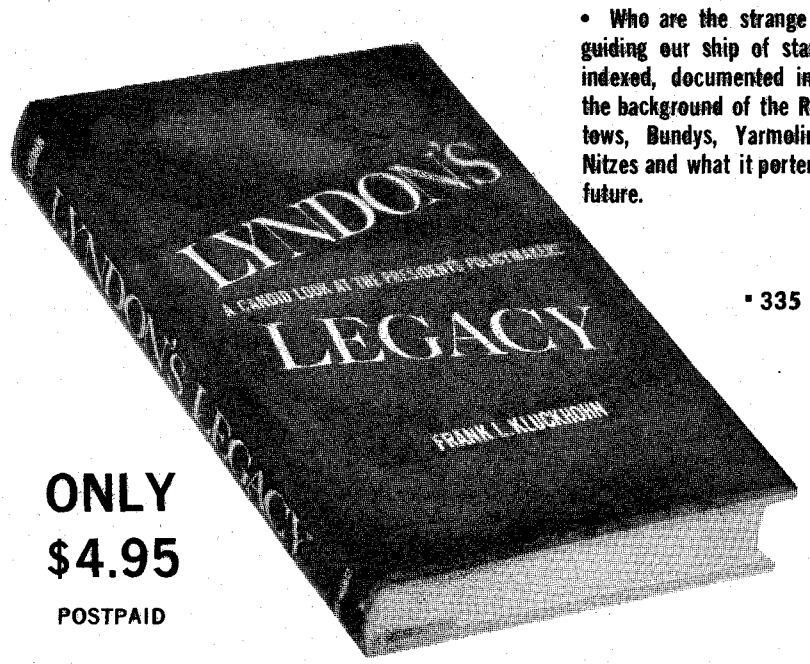

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Frank L. Kluckhohn knows Washington inside as few do. Among his important positions he has been Adviser to the first Secretary of Defense and, from 1955 to 1961, was a Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Security and Consular Affairs in the State Department. For almost 20 years he was a New York Times foreign and Washington correspondent, covering the White House for many years. During World War II he went overseas and reported on all the Allied landings, from the first one in Africa to the last in Japan. The author of America: Listen! and other books, he is now a free-lance writer whose articles have appeared in many major national magazines.

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What Are Our Goals?

U.S. foreign policy is in shambles

From the Republican Congressional Committee *Newsletter*

Has the United States an effective foreign policy? Are we really meeting the world challenge facing us? Are we both defeating communism and laying the foundations of a free, peaceful and legal world order? Just what have we accomplished for the United States?

In recent years, it appears that the United States has pursued not one, but several, often antithetical, policies. The evidence is clear.

We promise "ultimate" liberation to unhappy Cubans, East Europeans and Chinese. Yet, in practice, we seem ready to settle for the status quo anywhere if only our enemies will respect it.

When we must, we admit the existence of the Cold War which we wage by all means short of nuclear weapons. At the same time, we maintain the fiction of effective international law. We pursue "peace" by resorting to an ineffective United Nations and by concessions and offers of "cooperation" in vital areas like outer space to our chief enemy. We even supply him with vital necessities on the dubious ground that a "well-fed communist is less dangerous than a lean communist."

Though we have officially followed a policy of "containment" since 1947, we did nothing to prevent it "leaking" in places like Czechoslovakia, China and North Viet Nam. It still "leaks" in various areas of Latin America, Africa and Southeast Asia.

Verbally, we adhere to the goal of an Atlantic Community. Yet, at the same time, we refuse to share nuclear weapons with any NATO member, except Great Britain, and have in other fields cooperated with the Soviet Union *against* major allies. Small wonder that certain disgruntled allies are making an inadequate contribution to NATO's military power or are even convinced that we seek to establish with the Soviet Union a dual hegemony over the planet.

As Gen. Thomas S. Power, former chief of the Strategic Air Command, points out convincingly in his book, *Design For Power*, we simultaneously pursue rearmament and disarmament, seeking power whose use we declare obsolete.

We neglect, criticize or eliminate friendly autocrats like Chiang Kai-shek, Diem and Tshombe, yet gleefully provide the sinews of aggression to hostile Nasser, Sukarno, Nkrumah and Ben Bella.

In short, however you look at it, our foreign policy is a crazy quilt of unrelated, over-lapping and sometimes contradictory efforts. This, of course, is not the way its defenders see it. To them, it is exactly what success in the nuclear age requires if we are to avoid catastrophe—namely, a flexible, "carrot-and-stick" approach.

Were this true, then that success should be evident. The world map of 1965, as compared with that of 1939, reveals the spread of Communist rule from one country, Russia, to a third of the world's land area—and no end in sight.

Moreover, with the spread of communism and the growth of neutralism (which the United States still fosters in some places) the world is further than ever from a free, peaceful and legal order.

Why are we failing? We believe the main reason is precisely the carrot-and-stick approach to foreign problems. Thanks to its ability to cover up its real intentions, a dictatorship may profit by such a double deal (talking of "peaceful coexistence," for instance, to cover up active subversion). Any such "dual approach," even when honest, is beyond the capacity of the American democracy. The American people will not long put their heart into a war they are not supposed to win—such as in Korea. For us, there is no substitute for victory and any adversary must choose between Cold War or peace; if we give him both, he profits—we do not.

For, in us, the "carrot-and-stick" policy breeds not dogged determination but schizophrenia, defined by Webster as a "mental disorder characterized by a division or separation of the mental functions." In today's America, the symptoms are everywhere to see.

To cure this disorder, we believe the Johnson Administration must choose. It can use our superior resources to win the Cold War or "relax tensions." It can, perhaps, still create an impregnable Atlantic Community or offer cooperation with the enemy. It can achieve military preponderance and a safe lead in the development of new weapons or pursue the phantom of disarmament. It can promote "liberation" policies for so-called captive peoples or it can seek "peaceful coexistence."

It cannot successfully do them all at the same time and it is high time we made up our minds which are our goals.

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RESEARCH "BOONDOGGLES"—Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman has conceded in a letter to a Senate Appropriations Subcommittee that some of the research projects in his department are "flagrant examples of boondoggles." For instance, during the past 10 years some $400,000 has been spent in an effort to manufacture paper pulp from bamboo (a plant that is not even grown in this country). Moreover, it has been known all along that the project could not prove feasible. Tung nut research has been carried on by the Agriculture Department for the past 27 years (since 1954 alone more than $2 million has been expended.) Freeman now admits: "This is obviously a crop with limited sales opportunities. Funds for research should be applied where the hope for return is greater." Moreover, unneeded "research stations" have during the past decade cost the taxpayers more than $2 million. Freeman has promised that he would shut down the facilities.

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GROSS HYPOCRISY—A Democratic state assemblyman, Philip L. Soto, has accused the powerful California Democratic Council of gross hypocrisy. In an open letter to CDC leaders, written after the council adopted numerous far-left resolutions, Soto said: "You favor peace with the Communists—and war with other Democrats . . . You hamstring the President in his conduct of foreign policy by disapproving his strategy in Viet Nam, while you approve of the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley without taking a position on the four-letter word movement."

Under Secretary of State George Ball has downgraded the Communist influence in Kenya, headed by former Mau Mau chief Jomo Kenyatta (left). Oginga Odinga (right), Kenya's home minister, has received large sums of money from the Soviet Union, according to Rep. William Murphy (D.-Ill.).

Kenyatta Works Closely With Reds But Ball Calls Him Independent

From the Allen-Scott Report

Under Secretary of State George Ball isn't reading the CIA's latest estimates or he is deliberately misleading Congress on the pro-Soviet policies and relationships of leaders of several African nations the United States is supporting.

Most glaring example of Ball's suppression of information or lack of knowledge is his characterization of Kenya's President Jomo Kenyatta, the former Mau-Mau leader who received his training in Moscow.

Testifying behind closed doors of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Ball described Kenyatta as an independent African leader pursuing a middle path between the United States and Russia, stating:

"My opinion is that Mr. Kenyatta is a pretty mature individual trying to follow something of a middle path, and is well aware of the danger to him of falling under the domination of either the Chinese or the Russian Communists."

Ball instructed his State Department censors to edit from the hearing transcript a statement by Rep. William Murphy (D.-Ill.), that Odinga, one of Kenyatta's chief aides, had received a large amount of money from the Russians.

Ball's testimony and blue penciling—the latter vigorously protested by Murphy—came a few days after the State Department had received a Central Intelligence Agency report disclosing Kenyatta's dedication to a new Communist ideological training center near Nairobi, staffed with Soviet-trained teachers.

The ignored CIA estimate, which reached Ball's desk, documented Kenyatta's close ties with the Kremlin and dedication to spreading Russian communism in Africa.

It pointed out that "the Lumumba Institute began its first three-month course for political party workers in March and it was immediately clear that this Communist ideological center would become a significant new Soviet force in Kenya and Africa."

The intelligence estimate further stated that "a key part of the studies of the 70 students will be learning the biography of Jomo Kenyatta, the principles of Soviet socialism, the African road to socialism, and Communist party organization."

According to the CIA, "These subjects are being taught by two Russian teachers and eight Kenyan lecturers at the institute who have studied in Moscow and received thorough indoctrination in Communist theory and terror operations."

While no final determination has been made, CIA agents believe that most, if not all, of the funds for operating the training center come directly from Moscow.

Reports that some U.S. economic aid to Kenya is being diverted for use by the institute are being investigated by CIA.

Although available to Ball, none of these shocking details about Kenyatta's close working relationship with Moscow or other CIA data covering his extensive training in Russia were turned over by him to the House committee.

Ball also withheld from the committee alarming intelligence information on the growing ties between Kenyatta, Algeria's Premier Ben Bella and Fidel Castro.

Ben Bella and Castro are now actively supporting Kenyatta's backstage efforts to use the Organization of African Unity, which he heads, to create a "Socialist union of African states."

They are training Kenyan students in Algeria and Cuba in guerrilla warfare for infiltration into the Congo to aid the rebels trying to overthrow the pro-U.S. government of Moise Tshombe.

Under present policy, the State Department is giving economic support to both the OAU and Kenyatta's regime. Negotiations are underway to grant Kenya an additional $36.4-million loan to purchase rolling stock for the railway linking that country with Uganda and Tanzania.

Both Secretary Rusk and Ball approved this loan despite warnings by U.S. intelligence authorities that it will help Kenyatta transport Communist arms and terrorists throughout Africa.

(Distributed 1965 by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

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Supreme Court Decides Three Labor Cases

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Supreme Court judges, much of the time, are as surely predictable as the phase of the moon. Give Douglas a free-speech case, or Warren a race-relations case, and 10 times out of 10 you can call the vote before a word of argument is heard. But some funny things happen on the way to the forum; and some funny things happened on Monday, March 29.

That was the day the high court decided three cases of labor law. The first two involved management's right to conduct a defensive lockout; the third involved management's right to close down an entire plant after workers had voted in favor of union organization.

Up to this time, I believe, Mr. Justice Goldberg has disqualified himself from participating or voting in all labor cases reaching the court. As former general counsel to the Steelworkers, former general counsel to the CIO, former special counsel to the merged AFL-CIO, and former secretary of labor, Mr. Justice Goldberg has felt it

Justice Arthur Goldberg surprised many when he sided with management in two recent decisions.

necessary to stand aloof. On March 29, however, he joined in the first two cases and eliminated himself only from the third.

And do you know who was in there, clawing up the National Labor Relations Board and defending the rights of management? Mr. Justice Goldberg, that's who.

In the lockout case, the NLRB had found the American Shipbuilding Company guilty of an unfair labor practice in the summer of 1961, when the company's bargaining negotiations with a group of eight unions broke down. The unions wanted to work things around so that contracts would expire in mid-winter, at the very peak of the company's highly seasonal operation, but company negotiators were afraid that if negotiations were dragged out a strike would be called at the worst possible time. They already had been through five strikes in nine years. So the company staged a lockout to bring pressure on the unions, and the pressure worked. A new contract was signed in October. Then the unions complained of an unfair labor practice, and the NLRB agreed on the narrow ground that the company really had no reason to fear a mid-winter strike. On March 29 the Supreme Court unanimously reversed the board.

Mr. Justice Goldberg delivered a concurring opinion that must have dropped the jaws of a lot of old friends.

"From the plain facts revealed by the record," he wrote, "it is crystal clear that the employer's lockout here was justifiable. . . . The board's conclusion is not only without the requisite record support but is at complete variance with the actualities of industrial relations. . . . The employer's fear of a strike was totally reasonable. . . . The record does not supply even a scintilla of, let alone any substantial evidence, to support the conclusion of the board that the employer's fear of a strike was unreasonable, but rather, this conclusion appears irrational."

Mr. Justice Goldberg wasn't through for the day. The next case was NLRB V. John Brown, in which the Labor Relations Board was trying to get its order enforced against six grocery stores in Carlsbad, N. M. This case dated back to the spring of 1960, when a retail clerks' union called a strike against one of the six establishments. The other stores, seeing a "whipsaw" situation developing, promptly closed their own doors, locked out the union members, and then reopened with management personnel and temporary help. The NLRB thought this was an unfair labor practice. The Supreme Court disagreed 8-1 and Mr. Justice Goldberg disagreed more strongly than anyone else.

"The employers' conduct," he wrote in a concurring opinion, "was justified and necessary to preserve the integrity of the employers' bargaining unit. . . . The nonstruck employers did nothing more than hire temporary replacements, an activity necessary to counter whipsawing by the union."

The days' third case was the much publicized case of the Deering Milliken textile mill in Darlington, S. C., which the owners closed and sold in November of 1956, two months after the Textile Workers Union won a bargaining election. The gist of the court's 8-0 opinion was that while an employer has an absolute right to terminate his "entire business," even if he is motivated by vindictiveness towards a union, a different question is presented when an employer, such as Deering Milliken, closes only a part of his business. If his intention is "to chill unionism in any of the remaining plants," the closing of one plant is unfair labor practice. The court sent the case back for examination into Roger Milliken's motives.

The court's opinion contains certain implications that will chill management and create great apprehension within the business community. Mr. Justice Goldberg, as noted, sat this one out. You know who wrote this ominous opinion for the court? Mr. Justice Harlan, the court's top conservative, that's who. A funnier Monday morning in the forum hasn't been seen for quite some time.

(Copyright 1965, *Newsday*)

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Court's Darlington Decision Means Less Business Freedom

From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

The United States Supreme Court recently carved away and destroyed another large slice of American freedom.

It did so when it ruled that an American no longer has the right to go out of any part of his business, for whatever reason he may have.

It is astonishing that the Supreme Court would rule that there are conditions that would prohibit a man from curtailing his own private business, but that's what it did.

The case before the court involved the Darlington Manufacturing Co. of Darlington, S.C. The plant has been in disagreement with the AFL-CIO Textile Workers Union. Its management simply decided to go out of business, saying it did so for purely economic reasons. The Court of Appeals upheld the company. But the Supreme Court has reversed the ruling. It claimed that Darlington was connected with several plants and while all the associated factories might be closed down without question, one could not be closed to avoid a union. And it left to the NLRB to determine whether the Darlington Manufacturing Co. had gone out of business to avoid dealing with the union or for economic reasons.

This is a great infringement upon freedom that should not be tolerated. Anybody in business ought to have the absolute right to stay in or get out of all or any part of his own business any time he wants and for good reason or bad reason or no reason, no questions asked. If a business continues it might have to deal with a union if the union represents the employes, but there should be no bar against cutting out any or all of a business.

This ruling that puts the court in control of whether or not a theoretically free enterprise operates is a dangerous thing that is contrary to all of American constitutional and economic history.

This is another giant step toward totalitarian socialism in America, toward full governmental control of the means of production.

If we tolerate the idea that government may tell a company it can't go out of any part of business, we are close to a situation in which government will have the power to tell a man whether he can go into business. The Communist and Fascist systems don't exercise much more control than that.

HIGH - SALARIED—A Republican member of the New York State Assembly, Hobart County's Edwyn Mason, has accused Nelson Rockefeller of inexcusable waste. Mason charged that four of Rocky's top aides—his secretary, executive assistant, counsel and press secretary—draw higher salaries than do the governors of three-fourths of the states.

Failure of Modern Conciliationism

By Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D.-Conn.)

When I was a boy in school, I was taught that before you made a statement or assertion, it was your moral duty to examine all the facts as carefully as possible and to relate your assertions to the factual record.

But the wishful thinkers and conciliationists and appeasers of our own time apparently consider the factual record to be irrelevant.

They pontificate about the existence of a *detente* without troubling to adduce an iota of factual evidence to establish that there has been a tapering off of Communist cold war activities.

They remain unperturbed by the fact that their talk of detente **has coincided with a period during which the Communists have been deploying the broadest, the most massive and the most ruthless offensive in the entire history of the cold war.**

With the same cavalier disregard for the facts, our conciliationists will lecture us about being more trustful, less provocative, more generous in our attitude toward the Soviets.

The record of recent history runs so completely counter to the pronouncements of our conciliationists, that I cannot help wondering whether our education system has not developed some grave defect that somehow deprives intelligent men of their capacity for logic; of whether, alternatively, important segments of our society do not suffer from some kind of mesmeric condition that has destroyed their capacity for judgment.

Leisure Must Be Earned

From the Indianapolis *Star*

With the curious reasoning that is so typical of liberal welfare staters, James G. Patton, president of the National Farmer's Union, says it is time for Americans to stop working so hard and saving so much. Instead, Patton hints, we should begin to live off the fat of the land.

"I say it is becoming immoral to overwork and oversave," Patton told reporters the other day. At the same press conference he confirmed, "Yes, I believe in the welfare state."

Patton contends that more leisure and bigger spending are now in order because science and technology have made it possible to produce enough to supply every American with his every need without so much effort. To realize more spare time, in Patton's view, Americans need only to accept the welfare state.

Indeed, the United States has achieved a great prosperity, but as much through the skillful and energetic labors of its people as by any wonders wrought by science and technology. So vast is this wealth that it might indeed support us in princely fashion for quite a time if Americans took Patton's advice.

The Utopia couldn't last for long, though. As everyone worked less, produced less and earned less, living instead off government largesse, soon Washington would be out of money. After all, no government is worth a glass bead more than the sum of the wealth of its people.

Up to now, Americans have earned leisure and properity by taking advantage of technology and improving their own skills to produce as much or more in fewer working hours. When it is earned, leisure is a wealth, but when people take leisure they have not earned, it is the same as living on borrowed money. If they borrow too much, bankruptcy is the inevitable result.

Let Americans enjoy their earned leisure and earn more if they can, but let us not fall victim to the advocates of the welfare state who say that we can loaf and live happily on credit ever after.

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Minority Rights, Red-Type

From the Arizona *Republic*

For years propagandists for the Soviet Union have tried to create the image that their society was free from the corrosive element of persecution of racial or religious minorities.

American Communists, following the party line, played the role of defenders of such minorities against discrimination, claiming it could not exist in the "worker's paradise."

All of which makes rather ironic the fact that Israel has accused the Soviet Union of systematically withdrawing from Russian Jews the right to observe their religion. The charge of anti-Judaism was brought up at a meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights at Geneva, Switzerland. Making the accusation was Haim H. Cohen, a justice of Israel's Supreme Court. Cohen claims that, despite the official policy of atheism that exists in Russia, some freedom is permitted to certain religious groups. He contends that only the Jews suffer from complete discrimination.

Enough evidence of the treatment of religious Jews in Russia has been gathered to indicate that Cohen has a valid point. It might be well for any minority group to consider the situation of the Jews in Russia before listening to the Red song and dance about minority rights under communism. The only minority with real rights in Russia is the card-holding Communist party elite. All the rest of the people are considered trash under their feet.

Alger Hiss in L.A. to Attend Secret Anti-Viet War Conclave

By VICTOR LASKY

Some recent developments in the left-wing world which were generally overlooked by the communications media:

Item: Alger Hiss, the convicted perjurer in one of America's most famous espionage cases, turned up the other day in Los Angeles where he attended a secret luncheon-meeting of left-wing leaders of so-called civil liberties groups. Host at the two-hour closed meeting was Frank Wilkinson, chairman of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms as well as national field representative of the Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee.

It was before HCUA that both Wilkinson and Hiss ran into trouble. The persistence of a young California congressman named Richard M. Nixon had forced Hiss, then a respected former State Department official, to make damaging admissions concerning his relations with an obscure magazine editor, Whittaker Chambers, who had claimed to have headed a Washington spy ring of which Hiss was a member.

Wilkinson, after refusing to tell HCUA whether or not he was a member of the Communist party, was convicted of contempt of Congress. Newsmen were barred from the Los Angeles luncheon at which Hiss was guest of honor. But it is understood he gave a party-line speech demanding the removal of American forces from South Viet Nam. "Out of Saigon, into Selma," was his battlecry.

Hiss, who continues to insist that he has no connection with the Communist party, made his last public appearance on an ABC television show on which he bitterly criticized former Vice President Nixon.

Item: A new—and surprising—name added to the list of foes of HCUA is that of James J. Wadsworth, former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. According to the *National Guardian*, a pro-Peking-oriented weekly, Mr. Wadsworth, currently the president of a privately-subsidized disarmament group, has joined the usual crew of liberal names in protesting HCUA's contempt citations for two leaders of Women Strike for Peace and Russ Nixon, general manager of the *National Guardian*.

The trial of Mrs. Dagmar Wilson, Mrs. Donna Allen and Russ Nixon was scheduled to begin on April 7 in U.S. District Court in Washington.

Each of the trio could face a year in jail and a $1,000 fine for refusing to testify in executive hearings of HCUA on visits they made to the State Department to press for an entry visa for Prof. Kaoru Yasui, a Japanese left-winger. The new organization, of which James Wadsworth was named as a sponsor, is called "Defenders of Three Against HCUA," and is seeking to raise legal expenses.

It includes: Historian Henry Steele Commager; W.H. Ferry, vice president of the Center for the Study of Democratic Insitutions, Santa Barbara, Calif.; Algernon Black, founder, Encampment for Citizenship; Mrs. Cyrus Eaton; Denna Frank Fleming, professor emeritus, Vanderbilt University and author of books on international relations; Jerome D. Frank, professor of psychiatry, Johns Hopkins University; Dr. Frances Heering, scientist and educator; Henry Beetle Hough, author and publisher, *Vineyard Gazette*, Martha's Vineyard, Mass.; J. Stuart Innerst, Quaker leader; Freda Kirchwey, former editor, *The Nation* magazine; Author Sidney Lens; Linus C. Pauling, Nobel laureate, and Mrs. Ava Helen Pauling; Rabbi Samuel Perlman, director, B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, Boston University; Dr. Margaret Rich, psychologist; Bertrand Russell; Dr. George Saslow, chairman, Department of Psychiatry, University of Oregon Medical School; Arnold E. Sylvester, president, American Ethical Union; poet Louis Untermeyer; Sir Robert Watson-Watt, British inventor of radar; Rev. Robert Zoerheide, president, Unitarian Universalist Fellowship for Social Justice.

Item: At recent civil rights demonstrations, Malcolm X, victim of a Black Muslim factional quarrel, has been made to appear the victim of some sort of white conspiracy. Most legitimate civil rights leaders know this is nonsense and take the attitude that the less said of the departed Brother Malcolm the better for their cause.

But not the Red Chinese, who see in the assassination a golden opportunity for propaganda in their "anti-U. S. imperialism" battle in Africa and Asia. As the Chinese put it, "The murderers of Malcolm X are the same as those who murdered Patrice Lumumba of the Congo."

And the Peking party newspaper, the *People's Daily*, in a political eulogy entitled, "Long Live U.S. Negro Leader Malcolm X," had this to say:

"The U.S. ruling class gunned you down, thinking this would keep you quiet; instead, your message becomes more compelling, your voice echoes louder and longer, and your glorious and powerful argument will last forever."

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ONE - NATION - ONE - VOTE DEPARTMENT—The U.N. Security Council has approved the African state of Gambia for membership in the United Nations. This nation, one of the world's most backward, has a population of 313,000, but its vote will count just as much as that of the United States.

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"SOAPY" FOR GOVERNOR?—Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs G. Mennen Williams is reportedly considering a race for the governorship of Michigan next year. Williams had served six terms as that state's governor when he joined the Kennedy Administration in January, 1961.

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

"Federal dollars have a strange and captivating lure. They sing a siren song which to many is irresistible, and lure off course many an otherwise right-thinking citizen."—Rep. Paul Findley (R.-Ill.)

LBJ's Inconsistency

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

At his nationally-televised news conference at his Texas ranch recently, President Johnson told the American people he wished he could have included a provision in his so-called voting rights bill to permit 18-year-olds to vote. Could this be the same Lyndon Baines Johnson who, on May 21, 1954, as a senator, voted against *the very proposal he says he favors? Chalk up another example of the LBJ brand of inconsistency!*

education; if you don't approve of the Medicare approach, you're against the aged and the infirm; if you don't favor deficit financing, you're necessarily for higher taxes; if you feel the Appalachia bill is discriminatory, you obviously favor blighted areas; if you question the way he has constructed his voting rights bill, you're an obstructionist in racial matters; and so it goes.

By saying, "Take it this way or not at all," he leaves the representative the unhappy alternative of having to vote for what he feels is bad legislation, or appearing heartless. Does a good end justify bad means? This is one of the problems I find myself struggling with constantly here in the "Great Society."

School Aid Bill

By REP. EDWARD DERWINSKI (R.-Ill.)

[The Administration's education bill] is a massive fraud being perpetrated against the American public and, more specifically, the teachers, students and taxpayers of the country. It is of dubious constitutionality and creates contradictory administrative situations. It is built entirely on false promises and, as we plainly see, [was] stampeded through the House by brute force and demagoguery.

This bill, in its formation, presentation and legislative processing, exposes the complete hypocrisy and dictatorial philosophy of the Democrat Administration. It is tragic to note how members of the majority party perform like a chorus line to the signals being snapped by the floor leaders for this bill.

I feel very strongly that the massive hypocrisy and inconsistency of this legislation will be thoroughly recognized by the American public.

Those who have been boobytrapped into supporting this measure will be among the first to recognize its grave defects and shortcomings. Those who have in advance recognized the defects and shortcomings will, unfortunately, be left in the position of substantial frustration and can merely say "I told you so."

We have had a somewhat limited debate on this bill and more limited debate on amendments. The lack of respect for legislative procedure displayed by the majority is a black page in the history of the House.

Despite the technical procedures used to stifle the constructive amendments offered by the minority, the record has been made in clear fashion. Therefore, I [joined] a substantial but too small a group voting against this measure.

Courts and Criminals

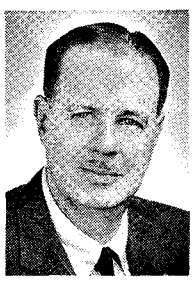
By REP. CHARLES GUBSER (R.-Calif.)

It used to be that the courts strived for a happy medium between protecting the rights of individuals and protecting society at large, but now they are emphasizing only individual rights. Today the law breaker has the advantage and society is his victim. A new national attitude is developing which tolerates rabble-rousing with no constructive purpose and justifies it as an individual right. Beatniks in leotards openly preach rebellion and urge students to disobey when they disagree. They disrupt a well ordered society by defying law and the officials responsible for enforcing it. This business has gone too far. Congress should pass legislation which binds the courts to protect decent citizens who prefer law and order to anarchy.

Job Corps Contracts

By SEN. HUGH SCOTT (R.-Pa.)

Contracts for Job Corps Training Centers, which are part of the poverty war program, at government-owned installations are being awarded on a cost-plus basis. Political contractors will milk the taxpayers by this device. One newspaper has estimated that this will run up the cost of training youngsters to twice what it costs to put a boy through Harvard. And in our own Philadelphia, Mayor Tate's political machinery in that city has so confused the project that it is in a state of chaos. The war on poverty is too important a program for the nation to allow it to become a political plum pudding, where little Jack Horners pre-empt funds that Congress authorized for the poor. This certainly calls for a congressional investigation.



Faraway Viet Nam

By SEN. JAMES B. PEARSON (R.-Kan.)

We cannot—above all—disregard the significance of South Viet Nam because that unfortunate country is so distant from our shores. Twenty-seven years ago, the prime minister of Great Britain lightly cast aside Nazi intrigue against Czechoslovakia by stating that the conflict there was "in a faraway country, between people of whom we know nothing." Yet one year after Munich, Great Britain and all of Europe were engulfed in history's most vicious and costly conflict.

Helping Nasser

By REP. JAMES BATTIN (R.-Mont.)

Nasser has been able, with our help, to divert resources from important agricultural projects to the purchase of arms, planes and military supplies from Russia, and has openly acknowledged that he is supplying arms to the Congolese rebels who have slaughtered Americans recently and whose intent is the overthrow of the central government we support.

Bad Means

By REP. BARBER CONABLE (R.-N. Y.)

President Johnson is a consummate politician—and his success in this field is transforming the country. His legislative program is skillfully constructed of the most appealing labels. Opposition is fraught with peril. In his political strategy, if you think the "war on poverty" is duplicative and wasteful, you're in favor of poverty; if you question the school bill, you're against

Education Bill Strong-Armed Through House

By REP. JOHN ASHBROOK (R.-Ohio)

In the House debate March 26 over passage of the Administration's education bill (the measure was passed 263 to 153; see Human Events *last week, page 12, for details.) Rep. Ashbrook made the following speech objecting to the steam-roller tactics being used:*

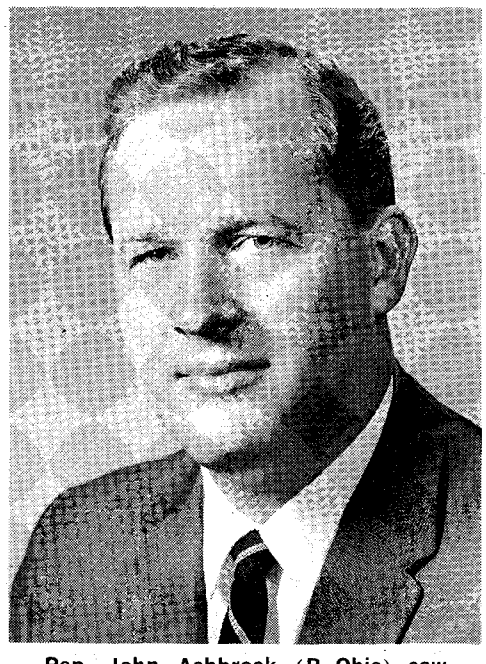
Mr. Chairman, I strongly oppose this bill. It is full of loopholes and presents a virtual bull-dozer for federal bureaucracy to overrun our long-established policy regarding local control of our schools. Unfortunately, all too many educators take the position that as long as some money is being spent, they are for it and will accept it regardless of any erosive effect it may have on the future of education.

I have been a member of the Education and Labor Committee for the four years I have served in Congress. I am a member of the subcommittee which heard the debate on this bill. I genuinely hoped that legislation could be adopted which would assist hard-pressed local school districts. I have myself offered two important pieces of legislation which would stimulate, not shackle, educational opportunities at the local level.

This bill is one of the worst pieces of legislation I have seen come before the Congress and its pitfalls will trouble educators, boards of education and, indeed, communities for years to come.

It also gave a striking example of the sheer, raw power of the majority party and the ruthlessness which power can manifest when it is not tempered by an adequate minority. I have seen debate cut off with no opportunity to present views on vital amendments. In one instance, the chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, the gentleman from New York (Rep. Adam Clayton Powell), moved that debate close in five minutes, this motion receiving the rubber-stamp approval of the majority. He then took the entire five minutes himself and allowed none of us, including me, to even speak on important amendments to a vital section of this bill.

On one occasion he even flouted custom and refused to allow the minority leader to speak for an additional five minutes. In this case, the Speaker was able to get him to retract his objection.



Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio) saw ruthlessness in bill's passage.

On one occasion, he moved to close debate before it had even started, but fortunately the long standing rules of the House required at least one speaker address himself to the matter before the motion could be made. This is typical of the streamroller tactics which passed this federal aid to education bill.

On another occasion, the gentlelady from Oregon (Rep. Edith Green) a proponent of the bill, was on her feet endeavoring to point out a particular shortcoming of the legislation. The gentleman from New York (Rep. Powell) moved that all debate close "right now" and he was rubberstamped by the majority, a terrible discourtesy to this esteemed lady and an example of the roughshod treatment which can be expected when naked power is used by those who want to prevent a public debate.

It is only appropriate that these tactics brought the American people a bill so badly drafted and so tied together by sealing wax that no amendment could be accepted, regardless of merit, lest the political support for the bill by various groups who put the coalition together be withdrawn.

It is indeed a sad day for America when the Congress of the United States stops being a deliberative body and rubber-stamps a bill so full of holes that it cannot be supported by those who are seeking educational excellence in our nation.

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